●121

[For additional theoretical information, see Category 12.]

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Introduction

[2] Documentation of Badaga culture spans a period from 1800 to the present, one-and-three-quarter centuries of changing conditions described by several dozen Western observers, none of them trained anthropologists. The Badagas of modern times are also observers, sometimes very astute ones, of their own changing culture; but they too know little about the way of life pursued by their ancestors before 1800.

In the present work I have tried to answer certain questions about change in this South Indian community, drawing on three sources of data: namely what modern Badagas believe about their society, what outside observers have written, and what I have myself seen and heard while living among the Badagas during the past sixteen years. It must be stressed that these sources are distinct and cannot be expected to yield precisely the same conclusions; in part therefore the answers to my questions may vary depending on the source of the evidence.[1]

Structural-functional anthropology is ill-equipped to explain cultural, or for that matter social change. In 1926 Malinowski (p. 132) stated that functional theory 'aims at the explanation of anthropological facts at all levels of development by the part which they play within the integral system of culture, by the manner in which they are related to each other within the system, and by the manner in which this system is related to the physical surroundings.' But what if an anthropological 'fact', such as the conversion of some members of the community to Christianity,

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121 does not appear to play any part whatsoever in the integral system of the culture and bears no clear relationship to those other 'facts' which are integral to that culture? How did the Badaga millenarian movement of the 1860s, for instance, contribute to the integration of their culture?—the Badagas got the idea that a god was coming to them to consume the German missionary and perform the miracles of Jesus Christ. He did not come, the sick were not cured, and they were extremely dejected. Yet, important though it then seemed to Badagas, this cult movement neither perceptibly integrated their society nor as it happened disintegrated it; nor did it persist. What then was its function, and how do we explain the movement in structural-functional terms? In fact these and other aspects of cultural change during the period we are to examine cannot be adequately explained by reference to universal hypotheses about the working of society. Instead we must attempt to show how the local problems of the Badagas have given rise to local changes, local compromises, explanations and solutions, all of which have been worked out by the Badagas in their own terms of reference, to suit their special needs. Cultural changes have perhaps been induced by outsiders, but not introduced; the Badagas themselves were responsible for modifications in their way of life since their first contact with aliens.

Only when we have determined the nature of cultural change among Badagas and have essayed some explanation for it will we be ready to make any comparisons with the way other societies have operated and changed. We cannot and should not try to explain their specific case by introducing some extraneous model of society, be it structural-functional or evolutionary, and expecting it to fit the Badaga facts in such a way as to explain them. The present study is therefore a contribution to the ethnography and history of a well-known Indian region rather than an essay in comparative sociology.

619 The Badagas are clearly aware of how they differ from other communities in this region. Thus only people of their community have Badagu as their mother-tongue; only Badaga men and women wear the distinctive dress and carry a characteristic mark on the forehead; only Badagas live in their recognized villages which bear distinctively Badaga place-names; and only Badagas can marry Badaga women and thus belong in a widespread network of kin. As the community is a grouping where potential membership is the same as actual membership, no problem arises in practice

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over who is a Badaga and who is not.

The coherence of Badaga society was already a *fait accompli* by 1800, and we know of scarcely any villages founded much after that date. In effect their colonization of the Nilgiris and the consolidation of various refugee groups into a unity were events of what we must academically call prehistory. From the Badagas' point of view, however, the advent of a few foreign literati did not nudge their community from the darkness of prehistory into the gloomy light of historicity. Until today nobody, Badaga or otherwise, has published a history of the community: are they therefore still prehistoric?

Be that as it may, their past is of extreme importance to them, and is still vividly recalled in an oral history of legends that are taken for fact and in most cases probably *are* based on actual events. Badaga legends are highly consistent from one part of the district to another and are sufficiently precise about the more insignificant details to convince me that, like the Maori genealogists of old, Badagas have long maintained a fairly accurate interest in their past and in teaching the young about it. Some of these unwritten legends take the form of epic ballads that are sung throughout the night while waiting for someone to die and in other situations where time has to be killed. This should not deceive us into considering the legends mere entertainment: it is true that they are delightfully entertaining to Badagas, but legends are also crucial to their convictions about how the social system should operate. It is these highly credible tales about who settled which village that explain to all the 120,000 Badagas the regulations governing village exogamy and other aspects of the relation between a kinship system, a pattern of settlement and a social hierarchy.

Instead of relegating Badaga legend to the 'folklore' pigeon-hole in the hope that a content analysis will later be made of it, I propose to examine briefly what the legends do and do not cover in Badaga prehistory. Most of them are tales of supposed events, often mysterious, often tragic, events in the lives of personages who lived on the Nilgiri Hills. Stories of love and magic belong to this group. A second group are the political tales, legends of chieftains and East India Company officials who came to the hills for conquest, plunder or sport. A third group are the local legends of Badaga colonization. These three groups deal with varying aspects of Badaga origins. The tales of personal exploits, often amorous in

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175 division between nature and society was expressed in a variety of ways. Clearest perhaps was the ethical prescription that while it is evil for a Badaga to kill people he does good in the eyes of the community *and of God* if he kills Kurumbas or tigers, 'since these (181) are both murderers' (as the matter was once explained to me). The Badagas have always been what would popularly be termed a most superstitious people: they suspect the sorcerer's artifice behind every noise in the jungle, every unexplained malady, every strange event; and they glean a multitude of tidings, both good and bad, from the everyday behaviour of snakes, crows, jackals, cattle and dozens of other creatures and conditions that surround (681) them. A further indication of the gulf between nature and society is perhaps that in their pre-British law the severest Badaga punish- (684) ment short of hanging was ostracism—expulsion from the village; and this was reserved for the enormity of incest.[2]

• 121 For an Indian peasant society the Badagas have some quite extraordinary features, fit to provide enough exotica for any undergraduate anthropology course. This fact has not been duly appreciated by the dozens of ethnologists who have come to the Nilgiris and attached themselves with passion to the colourful Todas or the shy jungle tribes. The Badagas may outwardly appear a much more 'typical' Indian farming community, and yet they do not have true subcastes or multicaste villages; they practise hypergamy *and* hypogamy even across the vegetarian boundary; several forms of polygamy are acceptable; they have a sort of young men's house; marriage is permitted across generation levels to the point where a man may in theory marry a woman *and* her daughter *and* her mother simultaneously, and villages hold memorial ceremony once in fifty years when every member of a generation has died. Add to these features the frequent ghost exorcisms, fire-walking and occasional massacres, and the anthropologist has much to explain.

THE TERRAIN

101 The Nilgiri Hills, also known as the Blue Mountains, constitute a [133] massif some 1500 sq. km. in area, situated in southern India at the (631) juncture of the three linguistic and cultural areas of Karnataka, Malabar and Tamilnad. In the British period it was an administrative unit of the Madras Presidency. Today the Nilgiris form a

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177 178 the upper extreme for the nation in population growth, volume of immigration, natural wealth, and—most important—rural literacy, education, and knowledge of the outside world.

NOTES

121 1. I have not adopted the popular but chauvinistic approach of seeking out the Aryan, Dravidian or autochthonous elements in Badaga culture—in my view a sterile and simplistic exercise.

681 626 2. An ostracized person would not live in the jungle, but would look for a distant hamlet where he might be accepted; see below, p. 171, 198.

[p. 10 is blank]

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them *ma:v*. But were any of the Badagas ever servants?

There are two small phratries living on the northern edge of the plateau near Si:gu:ru. These are the Kumba:ras ('potters') and the Be:das ('hunters'), both of whom report they came initially to this locality while in the service of the chieftain of Ummattu:r (southern Mysore district). The title of 'servant' might have been applied to both these groups but that would not explain how the entire immigrant community came to be called *Badaga*. In this context it is particularly worth noting that most of the immigrants arrived before the Be:das and Kumba:ras, who reached the hills in the seventeenth century; yet in 1603 Finicio was already calling the whole community Badega.[2]

We are thus left with the presumption that Badagas are so called because of their northern origin.[3] The case of the Be:das and Kumba:ras, phratries with the same material culture and social organization as other Badagas and a demonstrable tie with Karnataka, merely bears out the connexion with that state.

The fact that a sizeable minority (over 10,000) of the community is Lingayat further underlines the tie with Mysore, for this religious sect finds nearly all of its followers within Karnataka State, virtually none being in Tamil Nadu apart from these in the Nilgiri region. Some Lingayat Badagas are even able to relate how their ancestors left two now-deserted villages in Mysore and that they were then already converts to Lingayatism (or Virashaivism).

DATING THE MIGRATION

Legends are always inaccurate over dates, if only because they pass from generation to generation without modification of reference to times past. There are, however, various other kinds of evidence which also shed some light on the dating of the migration.

Published Estimates

Several writers well versed in Badaga culture have hazarded guesses as to the dating, based in part on legends they heard. Serious attention should be paid, I feel, to the earlier publications:

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was the village headman. Neighbouring villages (*hattu*), though of different lineages and even of different phratries, grouped themselves together for protective purposes under the headmanship of one prominent village into what I have called communes (*u:r*).[12] Thus Ke:ti, for example, is the leading village in Ke:ti commune, which embraces fifteen other contiguous villages, most of them belonging to one maximal lineage (*kudumbu*). The village headman of Ke:ti is also headmen of the commune.

We shall now examine legends of how the various clans and phratries became established on the hills to clarify the history of this intermittent migration. The recently formed Christian phratry will not be considered at this point, as it is more relevant to my discussion of modern cultural change.[13] The Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, are distributed among fourteen intermarrying clans which trace their descent from six of the Hindu phratries.

The categories in what follows are treated roughly in order of social superiority. This hierarchy is not accepted, however, by Ha:ruvas and their supporters. Since Ha:ruvas come from the Brahma sept they have recently laid claim to an origin as Brahmins and therefore see themselves as superior to Wodeas and all other Badagas. At the other extremity they consider the Kumba:ras and Be:das to rank below Toreas, since the traditional occupations of the former—potters and huntsmen—could place them below Torea servants in the caste ideology of the Indian plains. The great majority of Badagas, in contrast, place Wodeas at the top and Toreas at the bottom of their social hierarchy.

WODEAS

The Badaga Lingayats are generally acknowledged to have been among the later groups to arrive. The contention that they were already Lingayat at that time (Macleane, 1893, 64) provides a meagre clue to the date of their migration, for their sect was founded in the mid-twelfth century and this constitutes a *terminus post quem*. Within sixty years of the founder's death (traditionally A.D. 1168) this egalitarian Hindu faith had spread throughout the Kannada-speaking region. It became the state religion when King Vijaya Wodeyar came to the throne in 1399 and remained so until 1610. However a descendant of his, Raja Wodeyar (who ruled from 1578 to 1617), drove the eponymous Wodeya chieftain Udaiya Raya of Ummattu:r up into the Nilgiris and captured his

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175 to spit in the proper place.' With this attitude prevalent, the spread
[514] of various viruses and of *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* has been greatly curtailed. The regular washing of the body and shaving of
[515] pubic hair have also contributed to health by restricting the
302 incidence of bodily fungi and lice-borne diseases.

The ecological significance of these various beliefs and practices
175 is that as the Nilgiri population increased in the nineteenth century
161 and some village streams began to be polluted by this new pressure, the Badagas managed to avoid some contamination by switching from drinking stream water and fresh milk to tea, coffee
[318] and sometimes alcohol, all of which would be relatively free of bacterial organisms. The new balance with the environment that this change brought about was certainly one factor in the remarkable increase in the Badaga population since the advent of the British (Appendix 2).

175 At the same time that this change in drinking habits was occurring their eating habits were undergoing an equally radical
177 transformation. In part this was due to the several dozen types of
262 fruit, grain and vegetable introduced from Europe by British settlers and adopted by most Badagas. The variety of their diet was thus greatly increased.

VILLAGE NAMES

• 121 A study of the present Badaga hamlet names yields a body of insights about the early settlements formed during the two and a half centuries preceding the first British report (Keys, 1812).

Perhaps a somewhat lyrical description of the Nilgiri Plateau may at this point aid the reader's understanding of what is to follow:

133 The plateau is a true tableland, its average height being very uniform. But there is not a square mile of level ground in the whole of it, its surface being broken by endless undulations which in places swell into considerable and distinct ranges. It rises most abruptly from the plains below it; and on the west, above the Ouchterlony Valley and southwards, its sides are often sheer, bare walls, hundreds of feet in height and too steep even for trees to obtain a footing on them. Elsewhere dense forest covers almost the whole of its slopes . . .

It is first of all divided east and west into two fairly equal but

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103 had come (but where epigraphy does not come to our aid), we find a euphonious similarity with the name given to their new Nilgiri
•[121] hamlet; e.g., So:lu:ru < Su:lu:r. It is as though some refugees still wanted to be reminded of their old homes but dared not be more explicit for fear of attack from the new Moslem rulers of Mysore. If there be any truth to this hypothesis, it provides an interesting instance of adaptive behaviour in a radically new environment.
[195] The following is a complete list of all Badaga hamlets for which local legend tells of a place of origin in Mysore; those marked with an asterisk are ones where the factor of euphony may have entered into the naming.[3]

kaggusi < ha:sanu:ru
e:koni < kavaspa:ḍi
*honatale < honha||i
ki:ṛu:ru < urigaddige
*hosaṭṭi < honha||i
me:lu:ru < urigaddige or ve||a:di
ebbana:du < urigaddige or ho:saha||i
*ku:kalu < guṇḍu|u-pe:te (pe:te = -market)
kaḍana:ḍu < karaha||i
ćinna kunnu:r < koṅga||i
*so:lu:ru < su:lu:r
nunduwa < urigaddige
hulikal < honha||i
ke:ti < koṅga||i

Two commonly recurring elements in the Badaga toponyms are -u:ru, 'head village', and -haṭṭi, 'hamlet'. Both terms now have specific meanings in Badaga social organization that are not paralleled in Mysore, the haṭṭi being a hamlet, a cluster of contiguous homes, and the u:ru a commune or cluster of conti-
103 guous hamlets. There are some 370 hamlets divided among
631 seven communes. Only four of the latter actually bear a toponym ending with -u:ru, however (these names being identical with the head hamlet in each commune). Yet we have seen there are a dozen toponyms ending in -u:ru. Clearly the political organization of Badaga hamlets into thirty-seven communes, and these into three (and more recently four) divisions all under one paramount chief, is an organization that is in its origin more recent than the
103 assigning of names to the hamlets. The Kannaḍa word u:r, 'village', was initially applied by the early settlers to hamlets regardless of any status in a political or administrative hierarchy.
[121] The assigning of names to Badaga hamlets was in turn more recent than the actual founding of each hamlet. In the seventeenth

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and eighteenth centuries when the total Badaga population was no more than one or two thousand people, and their density of settlement only about five to ten people per square mile, it might even have taken several generations before a wooden hut or cluster of huts would have become sufficiently well known to the neighbours living some kilometers away to merit the acquisition of a site-name. 'The name of a village... depends for its existence upon the people in the neighbouring villages, not upon those who live in it: the latter are usually content in conversation to refer to it as "here" or "home" or "this village" as distinct from other places. It is the size of the area or population throughout which a place-name is accepted as an identificatory label that determines its persistence and permanence.' (Wainwright, 1962, 58)

As one might expect, not all of the early Badaga settlements did persist. Legend records the names of several dozen that are no longer to be found. Best remembered perhaps is the commune of Tu:du:ru (× tu:de + u:ru = hill mango + head village), which once consisted of nineteen hamlets.[4] 'Tradition says that the Badagas left these places and founded Athikarihatti and its hamlets instead, because the Kurumbas round about continually troubled them with their magic arts and indeed killed by sorcery several of their most prominent citizens (Francis, 1908, 316). A perhaps soberer reason for the abandonment, offered by modern informants, is that the population of all nineteen hamlets was decimated by an epidemic disease some 150 or 200 years ago.[5] Scattered elsewhere across the plateau were several other abandoned hamlets, among them Neddilu, Moritore, Billimale, Edeyu:ru, and a number clustered together on land that has since been bought up by large tea plantations on the southeastern edge of the plateau, around Hulikal.[6]

It appears that during the early phase of their settlement the Badagas came into frequent contact with Todas and Kurumbas and took over a number of sites from both tribes. The unique instances of toponyms referring to Kotas and Irulas (?) suggest that these tribes, by contrast, were insignificant and perhaps not very numerous on the plateau. The Kotas today occupy only six villages there, and the Irulas fewer yet.

The question naturally arises as to how the refugees were able to displace Toda and Kurumba homes. Local tradition offers only a partial answer. As we have seen, it is recorded in Kota folklore that when the first Badaga refugees reached the Nilgiris, they met

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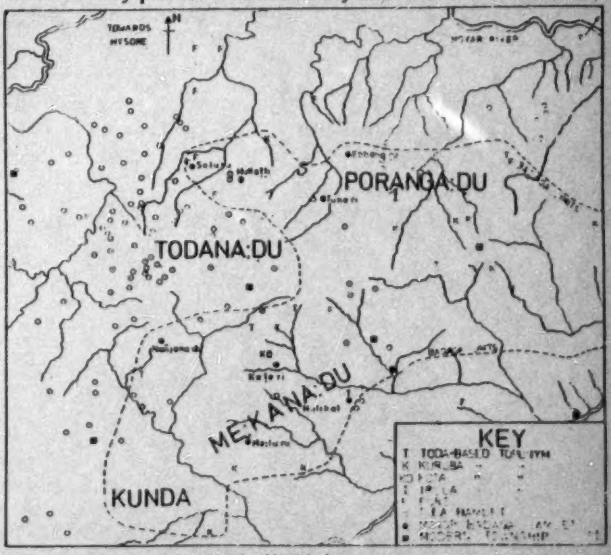
with a council from the three resident tribes: 'Because of the trouble that the Mohammedan made for us we have come, making ourselves to escape. This country is yours. We are helpless. You must help us.' (Emeneau, 1946, 257; cf. Ouchterlony, 1848, 81) The Toda sites they were given may have been uninhabited religious centers and unoccupied hamlets belonging previously to Toda clans that had died out.[7] The Kurumba sites were more probably relinquished to the Badagas only after the latter had committed some atrocities against the Kurumba sorcerers alleged to live in them. The burning of Kurumba hamlets was certainly a fairly common act of frightened Badagas during the nineteenth century, and numerous instances of it have been recorded by contemporary writers.

As an effect of the peaceful Badaga incursion, we can now identify with the help of a map (Map 3) some micro-environmental differences in the settlement patterns of Badagas, Todas and Kurumbas. The Todas now occupy the higher and more westerly plateau area commonly known as Wenlock Downs,



Map 3 Nilgiri place-names

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3

Social Groupings

The extensive oral history surveyed in Chapter 1 helps clarify distinctive features of each clan and phratry, identifying their different places of origin, the various routes they took into the hills and the sequence in which they arrived.[1] These legends are more than fictional entertainment: they validate the continued occupancy of each village by members of a particular clan.

We now raise a sociological question that is intended to clarify subsequent chapters: once the migrants had settled in the Nilgiris, how was marriage regulated, and how was the continuance of social units ensured from one generation to the next? (We admit at the outset that how they happened to synoecize into the Badaga community is a question which remains unanswered.)

Indian caste society has usually been described in terms of joint family, lineage, clan and *jati* (subcaste), but in the Badaga case—which fits a caste model imperfectly—we will refer to the following categories instead. These social units are listed in order of increasing breadth:

A.	Joint patrilocal family	(exogamous; occupies one village)
B.	Minimal lineage	(exogamous; occupies one village)
C.	Minor lineage	(exogamous; occupies one village)
D.	Major lineage	(exogamous; occupies one or several villages)
E.	Maximal lineage	(exogamous; occupies one or several villages)

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F.	Patrilineal clan	(exogamous; widespread)
G.	Phratry	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; widespread)
H.	Moiety	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
I.	Badaga community	(generally endogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
J.	Fourteen *kolas* or septs	(exogamous; in popular belief, South- India-wide)

THE JOINT PATRILOCAL FAMILY

The Badaga family is always patrilineal and nearly always patrilocal. Because of the power it wields a joint family is the ideal and every third generation typically passes through this desired state. Thus a young couple establish a new home in the village of the groom's father. Their children, if male, should remain in the same house with their parents, or be married into another village if female. Then the young men take brides from villages of affines, bring them to the parental home and raise their children there. At this juncture there would be three generations living under the same roof: (1) unmarried grandchildren, (2) unmarried daughters, married sons and their wives, (3) the parents. On the death of the founding father the brothers are expected to leave his house and establish separate homes. The dispersal of the household has three causes—architectural, legal, and psychological. The first is that Badaga houses have only two or three fairly small rooms and by the time that three generations, two of them with spouses, are occupying one house there is an acute shortage of space—a situation which may be aggravated by polygyny. The legal cause of dispersal is ultimogeniture: Badaga law requires that the youngest son inherit his father's house and at the same time take care of the widowed mother (Rivers, 1906, 559-560). Financial provision should be made for all older brothers to build separate houses. The psychological causes are the total lack of privacy and the elder brothers' uneasy feeling of indebtedness to the youngest brother who legitimately owns the house. A further complication is that in recent years one brother working in an office has become

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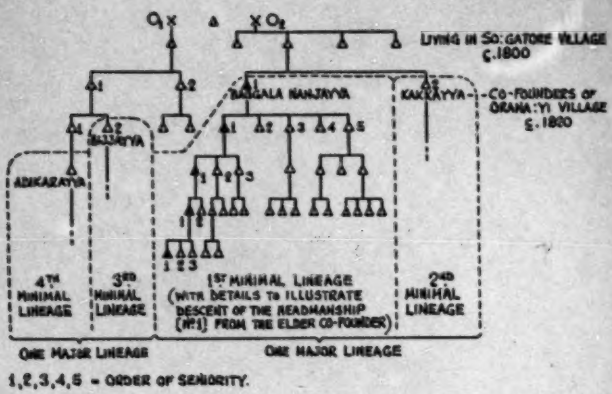

Diagram 6. O:ranayi village: A maximal lineage.

with someone outside the villager's own lineage, be it minimal, minor, major or maximal, his fellow members are usually willing to support him even though this means agreeing to false evidence. Such behaviour helps keep land and other valuables within the lineage and can also uphold the good name of a lineage and the village it inhabits. Solidarity is also expressed when a man wants to sell some land. He must offer it first to other members of his minimal or minor lineage, then to his major lineage, then to his maximal, then to any other inhabitants of his village, then to people in neighbouring villages. Only in the unusual case when nobody in this sequence will buy may he offer the land to Badagas from elsewhere. The land surrounding each village is typically owned by families of that village only.

CLAN

Several maximal lineages make up the *clan* (in American terminology, the *sib*). Like the lineage the clan is exogamous; but it is rarely confined to a single village. A lineage embraces all the patrilateral descendants of a known common ancestor (Schusky, 1965, 77) whereas a clan, made up of two or more lineages, is a

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unilinear kin group in which actual descent from a common male ancestor is now only a presumption (Gillin, 1948, 439; Murdock 1949, 66; Firth, 1951, 53; for fuller information on Badaga kinship, see Hockings, in press).

At this level of social organization the unit is spatially widespread: two clans are confined to a single village each (only among Kumba:ras); others are represented in clusters of nearby villages, while over half the forty-four clans are Nilgiri-wide in occurrence.

Clans are relevant in the arrangement of marriages, for there are fixed rules about which clans may marry; for example, Adikiris may marry Ha:ruvas but never Kaggusis. Clans may also form a community of interest for the pursuit of really serious disputes. In 1897, for instance, the Ha:ruvas of two different lineages in neighbouring villages were in dispute over which should have precedence during the annual fire-walking ceremony at Me:lu:ru. Having arrived at a compromise by which each group celebrated the festival on the alternate years, the whole Ha:ruva clan laid claim to a higher status than Wodeas, Adikiris or Kanakkas. A schism within the Ha:ruva clan has not emerged since (see below, pp. 203–204).

PHRATRY

Among the Badagas two to fourteen clans form a larger unit that we call the *phratry*. Most of these phratries and some of the clans have been called sects or subcastes by previous authors, if only because they are named social units. It is manifestly confusing, however, to apply the same term to two quite distinguishable kinds of social unit. A phratry is usually defined as a grouping of two or more clans whose members assume a conventional bond of kinship which, though undemonstrable, is at least supported with a story of their common origin. In the Badaga community most phratries are non-exogamous, but in certain cases exogamy is tolerated; no Badaga phratry is totally endogamous (Lowie, 1948, 338; compare Diagram 7). The phratries each carry a distinguishable subculture. The smallest in size are divided into two clans, identifiable as agnates and affines. Phratries with more than about a thousand members have a larger number of clans and thus a more complex internal organization. In this respect the two thousand Christians mark the extreme of complexity.

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support for his high rank. Many also maintain that the Wodeas were descended from ancient Virashaiva Lingayats, reached the Nilgiris before any other Lingayats and came as priests, for which reasons too they deserve primacy.

Nobody disputes with the Christians or the Toreas for their lowly position, not even the Kota tribe who find themselves ranked lower still. On the other hand there is a movement now afoot to accord the Ha:ruvas higher status than the Wodeas: this springs from the minority who support a pro-Ha:ruva and pro-music faction. The mechanics of upward mobility for Ha:ruvas, a vegetarian group since its inception, have been to abrogate marital links with lower clans. The Ha:ruvas may marry Gaudas (non-vegetarians), Kongaru (vegetarians), Kanakkas and Adikiris (both Lingayat vegetarians). At present the frequency of marriage with Gaudas is decreasing noticeably, so that the Ha:ruvas are shifting away from their lower-status affines while becoming more closely linked by marriage with the Lingayats, though not adopting Lingayat religious practices themselves.

Recently Mandelbaum (1970, 20) has described the Badagas as a *jati*-cluster. It is true that the units often identified as subcastes are now thought to constitute a hierarchy; but *none* of the ten is totally endogamous like a *jati*. Hypogamous marriages occur as often as hypergamous ones, a state of affairs not found between *jatis*, especially as marriage may take place between vegetarian and non-vegetarian Badagas. The ceremonial and economic links that one expects between *jatis* are of no consequence here except at the top of the hierarchy: Wodeas and Ha:ruvas do have attenuated ritual roles to play for the rest of the community, though over the past forty years these have been almost abandoned. Such linkages between the groupings are slight as compared with the economic and ceremonial ties between any Badaga village and its nearest Kota neighbour. These facts do not really justify calling the Badaga community a hierarchy or cluster of *jatis*: the concept of *jati* is unnecessary to this analysis. Phratry is the usual word by which anthropologists identify a grouping of clans, and there is no need to depart from that form here, especially as by doing so we might conjure up ideas of multi-caste villages, *jati* endogamy and *jati* occupational specialization which find no place in Badaga social organization although they are widespread in India.

M.N. Srinivas (personal comment, 1965) is probably right in suggesting, however, that at some point in the past, perhaps

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174 couple of centuries ago, the Badagas adopted a caste model of society (or revived memories of the old Mysorean one) and attempted with only moderate success to fit their collection of lineages to it: indeed this perhaps was the act of synoecism. The inadequate fit that they achieved is reflected both in recent shifts in the ranking and in the ambiguous position that the claim to Brahminic status has brought to the Ha:ruvas. This group long ago 178 adopted the 'sacred' thread,[5] a vegetarian diet and the role of 615 priests, but they have no initiation ceremony, no *śra:ddha* for the dead and—having been illiterate—no Sanskrit or other holy writings. In the mid-nineteenth century they were still quite (177) ignorant of Hindu scriptures, (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). They now find themselves caught between two models, as it were, for while they are trying to develop the image of orthodox Brahmins other Badagas find that model much less appealing then a new westernizing model upheld by Christians and by the large, dominant Gauda phratry, a model that displaced their older tribal 615 model nearly a century ago. A more general ambiguity is expressed by shifts in the ranking of the hierarchy as certain Badagas attempt to achieve a more convincing accord between recently learnt Brahminic ideals and local needs. Since the (121) Badagas have shown little willingness to modify the customary (564) marriage patterns they are obliged to accept the anomaly of a hierarchy relevant only for ritual and not for marriage purposes: this sets them off from the usual model of caste society in which the units of the hierarchy are clearly delineated by marriage rules.

562 Another explanation for the lack of concern about status congruence when a marriage is being arranged is that the social (615) status of a young girl is determined by the village where she lives. Girls before puberty are for many purposes treated as children of (582) the entire village rather than of one particular family. Once a girl has attained menarche (in earlier days, before that) she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and where her status is determined only by the clan and the affluence of that family, never by her own father's. The same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where only the males' generation level is important in determining relationships. The generation level of a woman is that of her husband and can actually change as she (582) marries successive husbands from different generations.[6] Though a cross-cousin is preferred, a Badaga may marry women, either

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582 [538] Another factor entering into the choice of a bride is expressed in the proverb, 'Have the girl from a far-away place; have the cow from a nearby place.'[7] It is generally felt that a woman from a distant village who is a classificatory cross-cousin will make the best of wives, for she will not take too many liberties with affines who are not previously well-known to her, and at the same time she will be unable to run home to her parents too often; in short, she is likely to remain in the marital home and work adequately there. An example of an ideal marriage with a classificatory father's sister's daughter is to be seen in Diagram 9 (p. 179) (the man marked X). The principle of 'equivalence' of brothers in this kinship table makes X's wife a cross-cousin to him.

565 •[121] In Chapter 10 we will discuss the manner in which the modern Badaga community is becoming a class society. We should nonetheless note here that already by the nineteenth century a class of 'gentry' had arisen in each village. This is the term I have chosen for the families descended from the village founders and including all of the headman. As will be seen, these people had higher social status than others and a peculiar status in Badaga law, to be explored in Chapter 8.

128 The marriage system which now links the forty-four Badaga clans into ten phratries is a very complex one and calls for a clarifying diagram to accompany the following pages of description. Each circle in Diagram 7 represents one clan, and the intervening lines link clans which customarily intermarry. Clans have been grouped into phratries. The dotted lines mark irregular but acceptable patterns of marriage. The subcultural divisions between Lingayats and other Shaivites, between Christians and Shaivites, and between vegetarians and meat-eaters, have also been indicated.

WODEAS

615 [162] The majority of Badagas rank Wodeas as the highest phratry in the community.[8] They occupy twelve villages scattered across the plateau, some very close to the villages of lower phratries. Their villages are not all exogamous. There are perhaps four thousand Wodeas, distributed among three unnamed clans, or six septs. These septs, with their variant names, are as follows:

615 614 612 Clan I: Şu:riya and Selandi (or Sedili) septs;

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4

Traditional Interchange (1)

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE PLATEAU COMMUNITIES

Until the First World War the Badagas were as intimately involved in the traditional system of economic and ritual interaction of the Nilgiris as were the other main participants, the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Throughout the whole of the last century, from the first detailed description of the Badagas in 1812 (Keys) until Father Tignous' account in 1911, there seems to have been no essential change in the organization of this complex relationship; but since World War I the Badagas have withdrawn more and more from the obligations and privileges which had been traditionally theirs. What were these obligations and privileges? How complex were they?

Their economic and social relations have been summarized diagrammatically in the perhaps over-simplified way shown in Diagram 8.[1]

The system of interdependence that we outline here involved a complex but standardized division of labour not unlike the *jajmani* system (see Wiser, 1936; Beidelman, 1959, *passim*) commonly found in multi-caste Indian villages. In order to understand the full complexity of this system, we shall have to reconstruct it from several types of observation. The details are discussed at length by several writers, are still known to the older villagers and to some extent can yet be observed in a few dozen Nilgiri villages. Recently,

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6

Early Patterns of Trade

ORIGINAL STATE OF THE ECONOMY

Little is known about the Badaga economic system prior to the arrival of British officials in 1812, except that the exchange of goods and services outlined in the previous two chapters was undoubtedly in operation.[1] It is nevertheless worth surveying the available sources since the pre-monetary economy of the period preceding the impact of European economic ideas has till now been influential on Nilgiri cultures, despite their monetization for well over a century. Some of the most detailed information lies in the traditions of the Badagas. Because of the high degree of correspondence between tales from different parts of the plateau, their content seems to be factual rather than imaginary and can go a long way towards explaining the many vestiges of this indigenous economy that one can observe even today.

The earliest mention of Badagas in the Nilgiris is by Finicio, who reports an encounter with both Badagas and Todas. The Badagas told him they had only three villages on the plateau, but this information may be misleading.[2] Finicio describes a village called Melcuntaõ—presumably the modern Me:lkunda—which at the start of the seventeenth century already had a population of one hundred and fifty to two hundred with an adequate mixed-farming economy. The priest mentions that these Badagas had cattle, poultry, goats; that they grew lentils, 'rice' (presumably a

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9

A Period of Stress

[121] Badaga social history since 1812 is recorded in sufficient detail for us to delimit confidently an especially stressful period in the last century and examine its relationship to the formation of factions and religious revitalization movements. We shall attempt to answer three questions: (1) What steps did Badagas take, in the face of stress-producing situations, to bring their society back to the previously existing stability? (2) Did these steps amount to what A.F.C. Wallace (1956, *passim;* 1966, 158-163) has called revitalization—a cult movement which reinvigorates, as it were, the society that has undergone too much stress? (3) If so, what new institutions arose from this cult behaviour, or if not, why did revitalization fail to occur?

[182] [F15] The published sources portray some disaster confronting sections of the Badaga community almost yearly from 1845 to 1906—a period of unusual stress which threw more difficulties in the path of the Badagas than at any time since records began.

A succinct chronology of this time of troubles is presented below. Items concerning missionary endeavour have been included because their ideas were seen by the Badagas as strange and often upsetting, and proved to be a serious threat to the integrity of the Badaga community. It will be noticed that matters which can be viewed as the 'causes' as well as others which are clearly the 'effects' of stress, or its manifestations, have been included.

[175 799] 1845 Four Germans from the Basel Mission began preaching in

[p. 183]

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One day a respectable man interrupted Br. Metz by remarking that through his new doctrine their gods had lost much of the respect and reverence in which they were formerly held and this he said was the cause of the great drought and all their misfortunes. . . . Just at this time he was interrupted . . . by a body of people dragging a dead calf along with them and accusing a Toda boy of having killed it by witchcraft. (B.E.M.S., 1858, no. 18, 91–92; the Toda was rescued by Metz; see Metz, 1864, 22–24, 34).

The last known instance of Badagas killing a supposed Toda sorcerer, around 1895, was in retaliation for the death of a Badaga child (Rivers, 1906, 261; Francis, 1908, 144).

Factionalism

There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850s. The challenging question that this poses must therefore remain unanswered: was the emergence of factional disputes really a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were theoretically on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We have no means of knowing.

There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word.[16] First, there are what might be called 'personal' factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single village about someone's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga villages, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single village (B.E.M.S., 1889, no. 50, 67–68; Anonymous, 1894, 547–551; Eppler, 1900, 153–155).

From these nineteenth-century descriptions several accounts

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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either instance marriages now sometimes occur across the cleavage.

In summary we can say that Badaga factions arise from and give expression to a situation of stress in the community. However, only one of the half-dozen important factional disputes arose directly from the stressful experience of evangelization.

The Cult of Irabattaraya

So far I have described many types of reaction to evangelization and certain calamities without encountering any movement that meets Wallace's (1966, 158–163) criteria for a successful revitalization of a culture. Let us now review what little is known about the cult of the Wodeas' god Irabattaraya (Virabadraya), since this was a kind of eschatological movement.

> A rumour was spread that the God Irabattaraya, born of a white elephant, would come up to the hills within some months bringing to each [Badaga] a true Linga, & consuming Mr. Metz with the breath of his mouth. Even the Todas, ignorant as they are of Vishnoo & Shiva, accepted the mark of Shiva on their foreheads, that they also might be acknowledged by the God as his followers when he would appear. This excited such a sensation among the people, that for some time the proscribed Missionary had the utmost difficulty to get a hearing. But the appointed term elapsed & the god did not make his appearance. At last the news was spread, that Irabattaraya was in Satyamangalam, a town at the bottom of the mountains, performing the same wonders, as Mr. Metz was in the habit of relating of Jesus Christ. Multitudes of sick people, dressed in white, descended the mountain, but came back uncured & disappointed; and after a few weeks the god had disappeared. The impostor appears to have been a Mohammedan juggler. But the people were not yet satisfied. An embassy consisting of 20 men was dispatched on a 5 days' journey into Mysore to ask the old god of the Badagas when he would come up? This frenzy has now passed away. . . (B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70–71).

The cult, which flared up briefly in 1865, contains features of both the Christian and Hindu religions. In this regard it is worth

recalling that by the early eighteenth century the Sattiyamaṅgaḷa population was largely Christian as a result of proselytization there by the Jesuit Fathers, notably Roberto de' Nobili, from 1643 onwards. Persecution by Tippu Sultan, a Moslem (1749–1799), forced the entire town population to revert to Islam or Hinduism (Société des missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. XII, 234–235; 1938, vol. XVII, 632–633). One is thus left in doubt whether the Irabattaraya cult drew some of its inspiration from this earlier contact with Christianity or whether missionaries in Sattiyamaṅgaḷa in the 1860s prompted this anti-missionary movement.[18]

CONCLUSION

In asking whether Badaga reaction to stress either restored an equilibrium or amounted to a revitalization movement, we must recall the features of revitalization outlined by Wallace and Fuchs.[19] Wallace's view of revitalization as a social process stems from the general hypothesis that under certain circumstances a particular sequence of events is likely to follow.

First, he says (Wallace, 1966, 158–163), a society is in a 'steady state' when disorganization and stress remain tolerable to most people. Certain social groups may find some stressful incident intolerable but their restricted 'correction' does not overthrow the entire social system. Then increasingly large numbers of people may encounter stress from climatic or biotic change, war and conquest, social subordination and acculturation. There follows a sharp rise in crime, illness, alcoholism and anti-social behaviour. A third phase occurs when some people attempt to restore an equilibrium by certain socially dysfunctional means, such as by attacks on 'scapegoat' groups. Individual aberrations become institutionalized efforts to eradicate The Evil.

Once such severe 'cultural distortion' has occurred the society can usually return to a 'steady state' only through a revitalization process. This involves the following recognizable characteristics, according to Wallace: (1) a code is formulated, transforming the stressful conditions into an ideal society; (2) the code is preached in an evangelistic spirit to attract converts; (3) the movement becomes organized with the formulator of the code, the disciples and the sympathetic followers; (4) the code is adapted to face outside threats and to clarify ambiguities; (5) a large part of the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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121 population is converted and control of the communication networks is won, thus achieving the goals of the movement and drastically reducing the symptoms of anomie; (6) the movement changes from being an innovative to being a routinization and maintenance force.

We recognize that Wallace's impressionistic concepts of steady state and social equilibrium leave the reader in serious doubt about how to identify these conditions. If, however, we assume Badaga society was in a 'steady state' prior to the impact of the British (an assumption predicated on our ignorance of the society before the early nineteenth century!); then a phase of cultural 'distortion' had arisen by the middle of the century as the Badagas became increasingly uncertain about their future. Ecological change induced by the new land laws, epidemic diseases, acculturation and some subordination to the ruling caste all produced stressful effects on the social system of the Badagas. Some alcoholism and opium addiction followed as well as the sporadic attacking of opposite factional groups, both Hindu and Christian, within the community.

The stage was thus set for a revitalization movement, but what 794 came along?—the cult of Irabattaraya. This cult was formulated by someone, perhaps a Moslem non-Badaga, around 1865, and word of it was spread to many Badaga villages by disciples and gossips. Followers by the hundred made a pilgrimage to where the god was supposedly residing; and after this the cult collapsed in disillusionment. It appears that no one of sufficient charisma had arisen to fuse Badaga sentiments in this particular cult; nor had it proved possible to institute an on-going movement in support of the cult and its anti-European goals. This cult had all the makings of a revitalization movement but failed for want of leadership. It is nonetheless worth noting that the following ten years were marked by no disturbances of any kind among the Badagas.

121 794 If an inability to become routinized was a mark of the Irabattaraya cult it was even more true of the earlier syncretic cult of Jesus Christ, as well as of the temple rebuilding fervour. Indeed no Hindu religious activity in the nineteenth century successfully revitalized this community; the Badagas recall no great charismatic leaders from their recent past (except perhaps the late H.B. Ari Gowder).

121 178 Yet a new 'equilibrium' was achieved by the early years of the present century; or at least the stress became much less acute. The

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Hindu Badaga community continued to exist as a distinct, mainly endogamous group, with its own characteristic language and culture, and beside it there emerged a Christian community. What had happened to relieve the tensions that we have documented? Several features of the changing social condition can be mentioned here as a partial answer.

Accommodation of the Christian Community

After the final outburst of protest in 1904 the Hindus were no longer openly antagonistic to every new conversion (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69). The community of Christian Badagas was by then so large, so influential with the Europeans, so well schooled and thus so powerful that it could no longer be threatened and attacked with impunity. The Badaga Christians came to be regarded as a caste, separate and inferior to the Badaga Hindus. Having thus been assigned a position in the social organization of the Nilgiris the Christians no longer posed such a serious question about the continuance of Badaga society. After the expulsion of German missionaries in 1914, the Basel Mission on the Nilgiris passed into the hands of the less evangelistic Wesleyan Mission. A stable family and economy were so encouraged among the Christians that they became something of a reference model for the remainder of the Badaga community in these respects. The first schoolteachers, the first government clerks, the first college graduates, the first factory workers and even the first published writers among the Badagas were Christian.

Major Factions Became Permanent

Like the division between Christians and Hindus, and another between Lingayats approving of marriages with Kanarese girls and those opposed to it, the factional division between Ha:ruvas and those who did not acknowledge their claims to Brahminic status became a persistent feature of Badaga social organization. Even today every lineage belongs to one or the other of these factions. We might wonder whether the rapid increase in the Badaga population over the past century has led to a growing awareness of impersonality in the community, which this and later factional splits have counteracted by 'dismissing' large sectors of

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10

Religious and Social Change in the Twentieth Century

We have seen how some aspects of Badaga culture have undergone significant change, how the economy was monetized, how national systems of law and administration were adopted by Badagas and how a Christian community became a persisting feature of the social organization. We now examine what other religious changes have come about, what has happened to the Christians and how the society has adjusted to new patterns of communication, marriage and residence during the present century.

The process of modernization has brought about some changes in Badaga religion. Temples may nowadays have electric lighting, for example, although strictly electrical cable is a polluting material as it is covered with rubber, which conservative Badagas consider to be 'like leather'. Polluting anthropologists and other strangers, including government dignitaries, are now conducted into some of the temples. Another change has come with the new value placed on time: ceremonies that used to last for three days are now finished in one, those that ran for a week now last for only three days; and in general there is a short-cutting of the inessential elements of ritual. Some ceremonies show signs of dying out, so irrelevant have they become. The annual festival for Be:da Sa:mi ('Lord of the Hunt') is now rarely performed. The aid of this god was sought to protect the villagers and their fields from tigers and other wild animals (Metz, 1864, 67-68; Francis, 1908, 339-340; Emeneau, 1971, 5, 42, 564, 744); but today, with the increase in

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578 795 divine prescripts. Badaga Lingayats who have opposed these marriages since about 1925 contend that because Lingayat philosophy countenances conversion from any caste the girls' families might originally have been in low or even polluting castes; yet once converted there is no means of checking their ancestry. Although these marriages are rare occurrences, the factional split they engendered has been marked by more violence than most: its culmination came one day in 1944 when a thousand or more Lingayat men waged battle with sticks and rocks until restrained by the police. For many years the two groups had not intermarried or dined together and had litigated against each other; after this fight the temples in the feuding village were sealed and festivals were only permitted under police surveillance, separate times being allotted for each side to use the temples. For over a decade this village maintained such a heated division that each faction had its own headman and council. The entire dispute was resolved around 1959, and members of the two factions now dine together and support a single headman and council.[7]

• 121 A factional dispute over unconventional marriages, which only concerns Lingayats, or a dispute over political affiliations, which concerns primarily the more well-informed villages, are two examples of a faction type that is neither community-wide nor confined to a single village: it is an intermediate type concerning particular interest groups. The Christians are another interest group providing more recent examples.

578 877 In 1955 a Badaga Christian studying at Madras University wanted to join the Badaga Students' Association there; and shortly afterwards another Christian posed the same problem. Since this Association had always tacitly been a Hindu organization two factions emerged, one accepting Christian members, the other not. They celebrated their annual Day on separate occasions for as long as the Christian Badaga remained in the University.

578 794 Another case concerned Christians alone. Two decades ago a majority of the Badagas and some Tamilians in a Christian village decided it was disrespectful for the minister to wear shoes while conducting a church service: they apparently reasoned from the fact that it would be grossly improper for a Hindu priest to wear shoes in a temple. For some time the congregation was divided, and those opposed to shoes in church would neither wear them there nor attend the service of a minister who wore shoes. The dispute later subsided and the two sides now interdine and talk

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attitudes sufficiently to become Christians now prompt people to alter other orientations not allied to religious values but rather to a secular government and its new ranking of employment and educational priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility, but in that process conversion to Christianity has become an anachronistic mechanism.

NEW PATTERNS OF COMMUNICATION

The idea of communication embraces the physical facilities of road and rail transport, postal and telegraph services, as well as the mass media of radio, film and newspaper, and the channels for communication between individuals within a local setting. We shall review briefly how these have changed in recent decades.

Transportation

Steady improvements in transport have helped the production and sale of cash crops. In the last century all goods had to be carried up or down the Nilgiri escarpment by coolies, on horseback or in bullock carts.[10] Faced with such restrictions Badagas were unable to export produce to other parts of India (Grigg, 1880, 480). Then in 1899 a railway was completed from Coimbatore to Coonoor (a remarkable engineering achievement), and by 1908 it reached to Ootacamund. Its construction involved Badaga contractors and labourers, giving some their first experience of earning regular wages. When the 1914–1918 War began there was thus a quick means of exporting vegetables to all parts of India and even beyond.

During the years between the two wars trucks became common in the district, and roads were improved to accommodate them. A few Badagas who became middlemen bought lorries to improve their business. At the same time a bus service began, and in the years since World War II the network of bus routes has become so complex that there is now scarcely any Badaga village more than five kilometres from a bus route leading to a town. Seventy routes are travelled within the district, some by several competing companies.[11]

The Impact of Towns

The availability of such a profusion of buses has helped the

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Todas or Kotas: the old fear of witchcraft lingers on. In the middle age-group of the sample (35 to 54 years) there was a significant correlation[15] between dislike of Kurumbas and a feeling that the world in general is a dangerous and evil place—an interesting confirmation of our earlier assertion that witchcraft accusations against Kurumbas have in the past been associated with general feelings of insecurity and stress (see above, pp. 200–201).

In general Badagas feel little compunction to maintain an association that is clearly not economically feasible. Among the indigenous peoples they are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new orientations, which help them secure a place in the national economy and society at the expense of their traditional position in Nilgiri society. While Kotas, Kurumbas and even some Todas are adopting the Badagas as a model, Badagas are following urban Tamilians and Christians in valuing the products of modern technology, seeking monetary profit, good education and a westernizing life-style they think acceptable in a modern urban context.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have already commented on changing patterns of marriage and residence and will now examine how the position of the gentry and the roles of the individual have altered with recent changes in the social structure. The central idea in this discussion is that social structure can usefully be defined as a system of linked network-clusters and that the status of a villager is determined by his position in these clusters.

The distinction between gentry[16] and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all families can be assigned to one category or the other by those who know them. Perhaps five per cent of the community is now considered as gentry. Until the mid-nineteenth century the most prestigious family of gentry was the largest family possible. This was often achieved through polygynous marriages; in one case in the 1950s, probably a record for Badagas, a wealthy but infertile man had five wives simultaneously. In these families men were often several decades older than their wives; I know of a case where the husband was over 90 when the youngest of his three wives was 26. Polygyny, however, is no longer common.

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156 183 life. While he is busily making a living, gaining respect and maintaining status he apparently goes through a continuing process of re-evaluating these activities in the light of changing conditions and new information. Such re-evaluation takes the dual form of private thought or meditation and of informal public discussions about his clique, their friends, and their various attitudes to life. So important is this re-evaluation process that many men can be seen devoting a major part of their waking time to it. The womenfolk are equally concerned with re-evaluation through conversations, but are obliged to work physically at the same time (Harkness, 1832, 114; Metz, 1864, 98-99; Benbow, 1930, 3-5; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 247; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 5-6; see Plate 10). In such discussions Badagas experience the need to make manifest from time to time the norms by which their behaviour is guided. This process not only makes the norms explicit but reinforces their validity in most cases, too. At the same time ambiguous or anachronistic norms are subject to scrutiny and then modification or total rejection. In view of this re-evaluation 121 process it is no longer enough to know that a modern Badaga is a male of a certain age, from a certain village and phratry or of one particular category in their social system in order to predict how he will conduct himself in any given situation. We also need to understand the more transient social formations and networks with which he is associated, the social functions of these formations and networks, and also the manner in which their members are recruited. As I have observed on many occasions, the play of 178 elementary logic, of conflicting orientations, personalities and 521 proverbs, the relevance of everything said to everyone within earshot are all factors making for fascinating and valuable conversation among Badagas. Slowly yet dynamically their culture is changing, not simply through external programmes devised for the modernization of India, but consciously, indeed conscientiously, through this tedious and time-consuming procedure. Faced with the need to vote for a variety of parliamentary candidates, confronted with propaganda on the value of family planning or with another current topic, individuals discuss the issues, try to reach a consensus and then act accordingly.

184 178 Those cleavages in the social system across which conversation is not permissible are barriers to the free flow of communication, and on either side of these barriers variant orientations develop. To understand cultural change we should pay some attention to

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trips to various South Indian cities, see numerous films and delight in mechanical devices. The minority who now live in the Nilgiri towns, among them numerous Christians, have taken on a variety of new urban jobs and are found in most of the professions. Few were involved in the Independence movement, fewer are under the influence of Gandhi's philosophy and fewer still understand or care for Marxism. The Communist vote is negligible, and the idea of revolutionary communism unappealing. For Badagas change means securing profit in a capitalist economy, adopting a westernized style of individualism and thus shifting away from ascribed status towards that which is achieved.

This transformation has come about while physical communications have been improving steadily. All the more populous villages are linked with the towns by regular bus services. Since the beginning of the century there has been a railway to the plains. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizer or buy potatoes have their own trucks; some large-scale tea planters have cars or jeeps. Radios are widely accessible now that the villages are electrified; yet radio is mainly a channel for light music and is not as important as the 'social' films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. Newspapers have a broad circulation in the villages and are much more effective than radios in transmitting news. Today, therefore, every Badaga village has easy access to information about the world beyond the Nilgiris, through seeing films, reading the papers or talking with friends and relatives who work in the towns.

SOME CONCLUSIONS ON MODERNIZATION

There is a multi-causal type of linkage in socio-cultural hanges like those documented in this study: one single factor does not by itself cause a new situation, but several discernible factors combine to cause variant patterns of a new situation. We may state this process in another way. When a community moves from subsistence cultivation to rational participation (i.e., maximization of gains) in a cash economy, certain changes come about in the culture and the social organization. These are conditioned by a combination of local ecological factors, outside governmental activity, the availability of certain goods, services and entrepreneurial personnel, adequate flow of information, and the play of

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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121 chance events or 'historical accidents'. Because the combination o all these conditions will vary from one region to another, th manner of the economic transition will also vary. We shoul therefore not expect a replication of the successive phases of th Badagas' development elsewhere in India, even though such people as the Coorgs may suggest a superficial parallel (se Muthanna, 1953, *passim*; Srinivas, 1965, *passim*).

121 178 The Badagas' transition to a cash economy depended in part o very favourable ecological conditions. Their land and the climat were well suited to the new crops, and for some decades it was ever possible to extend the area of cultivation. A protectionist govern ment fixed grain prices, provided roads and encouraged railway construction and even supplied Badagas with technical informa tion and improved seeds. No external pressure was placed upo them to make the transition; yet some of the more affluent farmer living near towns took the chance with initial crops of marketable vegetables or grain to sell to the two breweries. Their decisio found some reward and incentive in the profits from the loca market; and with the advent of the railway and the First World War this expanded dramatically. Once some success in the marke had brought these profits into the community, reinvestment and spending took a variety of forms. The Badaga economy became increasingly differentiated, there was considerable variation i wealth from one family to another, a class structure based o affluence began to emerge and most families sought to maximiz their gains, even at the expense of their customary relations wit the neighbouring tribes.

121 Though the details of their history are unique, there are some regularities that tie the Badaga case in with others; in particular the modern stress on education, the desire for non-essentia consumer goods, reinvestment of profits in land (Epstein, 1962 326–328), the role of mass media in popularizing urban taste (Rao, 1966), the replacement of traditional co-operative associa tions by market relations and co-operative societies, and th periodic restructuring of society through factional disputes.

NOTES

175 1. A survey was actually made in 1820; see above, p. 166, n. 2, and Hocking 1973, 869.

161 178 511 2. So also the Sanitary Commissioner, Dr. Cornish: 'I have no doubt the nativ

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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On Giving Salt to Buffaloes: Ritual as Communication

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•121 In a recent work on the anthropology of religion, Wallace (1966: 233) suggests that ritual is "communication without information," each ritual being "a particular sequence of signals which, once announced, allows no uncertainty, no choice, and hence . . . conveys no information from sender to receiver." Wallace is apparently using the word "information" in too narrow a sense. Ritual acts are necessarily repetitive but, far from erasing information, this repetition assures people that the basic values and institutions on which their society rests still retain their validity. Such a reassurance is conveyed in the symbolism of a ritual, and apparently has the effect of reducing anxiety in a community. The present essay will analyze a particular Indian ritual so as to show that this (like any other calendrical ritual) does indeed communicate a very important message: "All is going to be well for our community!"

The process of communication takes many forms in modern India. Some information flows to the populace from the mass media of radio, press, film, and poster; other information reaches people through the linkages in different types of personal chains or networks. Some of these networks are official; they link villagers with *panchayat* board, with district government officials, and then with the state governments. Others are unofficial, but very deeply entrenched and important in daily life. Their structure and use vary according to whether they link village and town, village and village, or the members of a single hamlet. Village-and-town networks operate through the linkage of villagers who spend considerable time in town and have influential or knowledgeable friends there. Intervillage networks may link persons in neighboring villages who co-operate to stage annual festivals, or they may be based on a pattern of marriage and visiting relationships. The intravillage networks may also have a kinship basis, but there are further types of network within the village which link individuals to certain centers of influence and information—the village headman and council, the educated younger men, the festival committee, and the gossiping groups. These village networks can be defined as the sequences of personal contacts that must be made if anyone is to influence or be influenced by people in any of the loci of power, i.e., those groups of people who control an optimum of locally useful information.

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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A ritual is not a network, but it is a medium of communication and provides an occasion for the personnel of all the networks of the village to converge in one place and act out their public roles. Ceremonial events are thus events of communication in two distinct senses. First, the confluence of people allows many local information networks to be reactivated; someone asks about getting a loan, another seeks opinions on a land dispute, a third takes a look at some potential brides. Second, the ritual itself conveys information to the participants. As we shall demonstrate, this message is a dramatization of the idea that the community is stable and its future assured.

The Todas, Kotas, and Badagas, three communities on the Nilgiri Plateau[1] in Southern India, are all cattle-keepers. For the Todas buffalo herding is the major occupation; for the Badagas it is subsidiary to agriculture; and for the Kotas it is subsidiary to both agriculture and a variety of traditional handicrafts. Each of these groups now keeps cattle only for their milk products, though until several decades ago the Badagas and Kotas also used oxen for drawing their ploughs.[2] Each group gives salt to its herds once or more a year and each culture has a complex ceremonial for feeding the salt to the cattle.

Confining ourselves to the Badagas,[3] we now ask a question that would in fact be equally pertinent to the case of the Todas or the Kotas: why is the giving of salt a day-long ceremony instead of merely a routine act of animal husbandry? Why are so many people and so much time involved in what a single boy could do in half an hour? The Badagas themselves would answer this question by invoking the "force of tradition"; but surely tradition is not *per se* an adequate explanation for the persistence of such a ceremony. The Badagas also maintain what is to them a perfectly rational explanation for the act of giving salt to their cattle. After heavy rains the young grass "tastes saltless," and the herds graze unenthusiastically; their owners make up this dietary deficiency by giving salt to the animals. The explanation suggests that these people understand something of the leaching process, but it certainly does not answer our original question: why has the act of salt-giving become a major annual ceremony?

Salt is regularly given to the cattle in March and at the end of December; in years when the grass is "saltless" a third dosage is given, generally in the month of June. On all three occasions the salt is given to the animals on a Monday, the weekly holiday of the Badagas, but it is only in March that the event is treated ceremonially.[4]

In the various writings abut the Badagas during the past 150 years there are only two brief references (Benbow 1928: 32-33; Karl 1945: 17), both fairly recent, to this salt-giving ceremony. Nevertheless it seems certain that the ceremony has a considerable antiquity; the comparable Toda ceremony was mentioned by Father Finicio in 1603 (Rivers 1906: 726). The Badagas did not become literate until the present century, yet they have an extensive and generally credible body of orally transmitted history relating to their way of life in the days shortly before the British settled in the Nilgiri Hills (i.e., prior to 1820). These Badaga accounts are explicit about

3: Hockings' E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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Great House precedes everyone else and afterwards announces for the benefit of others that he has completed his duty. Only after the water has been poured into his cattle pen may anyone go beyond the hamlet boundaries.

During the rest of the day, however, no one may do any outdoor work, not even something as trivial as picking up firewood. The permitted exceptions to this rule are that people may wash themselves and their clothes, and that the men may clean out their cattle sheds and prepare bedding for the cattle. Until recently a heavy fine was levied on anyone trying to do other kinds of work on this day.

This ceremony is generally considered by the Badagas to be one of the most important, or as some put it, "most sacred," in the entire calendar of festivals. That it should be so may seem surprising, in view of the unimportant role that cattle now play in the economy of this culture. We might expect that festivals celebrated at times of sowing or harvest would be the most significant for an agricultural community such as the Badagas. Yet the giving of salt is widely held to be quite as crucial as either the sowing or the harvest festival.

What, then, is it about giving salt to cattle that makes this event so essential to the festival calendar of this particular society? My answer would be that in the course of this ceremony a symbolic reference is made to all the roots of social stability and all the sources of the good life. Every society needs certain occasions when the bases of its organization and the ideals by which it lives are made visible to the members of that society. In this respect the Badagas are in no way unusual; the salt-giving is in fact a time when the whole community is busily engaged in acting out various roles which make the foundations of social life apparent to its members. Values which guide the community are thus paraded in the ceremony, a display which helps preserve them from doubt and obscurement.

A person's requirements for attaining the good life are summarized in the prayer which is spoken beside the stream. Here reference is made to maintaining long-established traditions, to having a plentiful harvest, to a superfluity of milk, and to the birth of many calves and children. The final line, "Let everything be good!" underlines the intent of the whole ceremony.

The Badagas themselves do everything possible on this occasion to ensure that things will in reality become "good" for them. They show due deference at every point to the living representative of their hamlet's founding family, who built the Great House and so started their community. They reward the Todas for their friendship and services. They pay brief respect to Ganga, the goddess who is represented in all streams and who controls rainfall. They pay respect to the sun, source of all light, by facing it before they stoop beside the stream. They show gratitude to the cattle, which are an important source of food and were formerly the indispensable laborers of every farmer. They ceremoniously gather specimens of two useful wild plants. Their route takes them to what have traditionally been the most sacred places in every Badaga hamlet: the Great House, the village green,

3: Hockings E-S (1962-1963) 1968
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121 796 the stream, the cattle shed, and the hearth. Furthermore, the participants in this ceremony do all they can to insure that they are in a state of purity, and that they do nothing to cause a mishap during this particular day.

783 Let us now examine these points in more detail. The requirements of ritual purity and bodily cleanliness are a *sine qua non* for the performance of any ceremony. If a man does not approach the gods with the knowledge that he has done all that he can to be in a pure state, he has little hope that his prayers will be answered. In pre-British days, when the salt had to be 175 purchased in the plains below, it received special treatment from the moment of purchase onward to insure that it would not become polluted 437 before the ceremony. The men who were to carry the salt up the mountain 439 slopes were not to carry anything else; contact with ordinary foodstuffs 783 would pollute this particular salt. The annual trading expeditions were normally timed so as to fall a few weeks before the salt-giving ceremony. Nowadays a Badaga simply buys his own salt in the town market and brings it home without special ritual precautions.

231 High in the roof of each cattle shed are shelves on which various dairy 778 articles are stored. The man who brings the salt home is supposed to take it 783 straight to the cattle shed and place it on one of these shelves; he must not bring it directly into his house, even though he will later have to do so when the ceremony is about to begin. It is felt that the salt would become polluted in the house if it were brought into an unpurified room where sexual activity has occurred. The cattle shed, though not considered a temple like the Toda dairy, is a pure and sacred place because milk is stored there. When the salt is finally brought into each purified house for powder- 783 ing, it is whisked around the mortar with the help of a freshly cut twig 796 of wild *'hubbe* (also used for loosening any salt that remains on the bottom of the basket). The Badagas have two kinds of broom, one for indoor use 824 and one for outside; but both are considered impure because of what they have come in contact with, and so cannot be used for sweeping the salt 412 around while it is being powdered. The used part of the *'hubbe* branch is 783 thrown away after this, and the unused remainder is placed on top of the salt. From the time of purchase onward, this salt is always carried in a special basket kept only for this purpose.

783 It is not only the salt that must be kept in a ritually pure state; the man selected to perform the ceremony on behalf of each household is also under certain restrictions. From the day of the new moon until after the salt has been given to the cattle this man must not shave, have sexual relations, cut his finger or toe nails, or stay overnight anywhere other than in his own home. By observing all these prohibitions he is believed to build 65) up a state of personal purity. (Were a man to cut his hair and shave, it would suggest he had recently attended a funeral and was still in the inauspicious state of mourning for a deceased relative.) The culmination of this spiritual preparation comes on the night preceding the ceremony, when he must sleep alone on a sack on the earthen floor, wearing cotton and without any other bedding.

56) Early the following morning the house has to be purified too. After the

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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562 796 in each family acts out the ritual of inquiring after the cattle when the salt-giver returns home. Her questioning of him, her standing inside the kitchen, her [illegible] of the three sprigs, her cooking with the special salt, and her [illegible] of this man before the others constitute a reaffirmation of her household role: she must keep the house tidy, cook the meals, and be solicitous of the man's needs and interests.

622 796 [554] The hamlet headman (who is normally one of the participants in the ceremony) yields precedence to the leader from the Great House on this occasion. The head of each Great House is a kind of priest, while the hamlet headman is essentially a secular official. The headman is responsible for whatever small arrangements are required in staging this ceremony. It is he who should send a message to the relevant Toda friends telling them when the ceremony will be held, and it is he who is responsible for deciding when to begin the procession out of the hamlet. Normally a headman may wear a turban at all times, but on this particular occasion he wears no turban, out of deference to the man from the Great House, the representative of the village's origin.

178 648 The Todas are bound to Badagas by a very complex system of exchanges (Rivers 1906). In the days before a Nilgiri market was opened, the Badaga salt-giving ceremony was the major source for salt needed by the Toda tribe. Today the gift of salt to Todas is still a recognition by Badagas of the help the Todas extend them in various matters connected with herding.

796 648 Kotas, unlike Todas, are considered a polluting tribe, and consequently the Badagas do not invite them to attend this auspicious ceremony. Yet the ties that link Badagas with Kotas are even closer than those with the Todas, and at every point in the ceremony the help of Kota craftsmen is evident. The iron bar (*'ha:re*) with which salt is powdered is made by Kotas particularly for this use; the iron rod (*'uppu'koi*) carried to the stream—which now serves no utilitarian purpose—is made by Kotas; the pot used in the ceremony was traditionally a Kota product although nowadays metal vessels from the market are often used instead; the small knife (*'uppu 'katti*) used in cutting the branches still comes from the Kotas; the hoe and any other tools used in digging the pits are made by Kotas; and the pot in which the meal is finally cooked was traditionally theirs as well. The cattle shed and pen would also have been constructed initially with [178] Kota help. Today, consequent upon a rift in 1928 between the Kotas and most Badaga hamlets, there is much less insistence that Kota products be used in this ceremony, but up to that time such insistence was the rule.

796 In summary, the salt-giving ceremony is one in which each Badaga hamlet expresses its hope and expectations for the bounties that come in the form of cattle, harvest, children, the village society, wild Nilgiri vegetation, and relations with the Toda and Kota tribes. To have the maximum effect in promoting these benefits ceremonially, the participating men put themselves into a state of ritual purity and take great care that nothing inauspicious foil their purpose on this day.

•121 796 We can explain the structure of the salt-giving ceremony by reference to certain principles underlying the structure of Badaga society. The per-

3: Hockings: E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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formance of the ceremony every year has the effect of regularly parading these principles before the eyes of the community; symbolic reference is made to the virtues and the loci of ritual purity, the sources of material benefits, and the role of the various social groupings and relationships that are the essence of Badaga village life.

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Early in this paper it was mentioned that the Todas and Kotas also give salt ceremonially to their buffaloes. Data on the Kota ceremony are not available but we will examine the Toda ceremony briefly to compare and contrast it with that of the Badagas.

Rivers (1906: 175-181), in his authoritative work on the Todas, describes certain salt-giving ceremonies, but he does not provide a description of the ordinary ceremony held in the Toda hamlets. I am deeply indebted to Professor Murray B. Emeneau for making available to me, prior to publication, his notes on a Toda song about the ceremony in question.[10]

The Todas give salt to their buffaloes five times a year (Rivers 1906: 175). One of these occasions is the ceremony of *ko:r up* ("new-grass salt"), celebrated some time between February and April, following the winter frosts, when there are occasional showers and new grass is beginning to grow. On a day shortly after the new moon, after salt has been obtained from the Badagas, the priest first cleanses the dairy-temple with buffalo dung and carries out his usual morning rituals. He then brings out of the dairy a stick, a basket of salt, and a milking vessel containing some of that morning's milk and a little buttermilk. He goes up to the chief buffalo and pours this milk three times from his hand into the animal's mouth, saying *"h5:"* each time. He then strikes this buffalo three times on its back with the stick.

After this, the priest puts the milking vessel back inside the dairy and goes off in search of hill mango bark. When he has got a supply of this bark,[11] he places three pieces in the stream at the point where the dairy herd is watered. He also puts three pieces of bark into the basket of salt that he has brought from the dairy-temple, and three other pieces into the milk. He has already, on the previous day, dug a round pit nearby to hold the salty water; into this he now deposits three more pieces of the bark. The priest next goes to the stream with a churning vessel. He fills this with water from the stream and puts salt and then bark into it. Rivers (1906: 176) notes that at each point where three pieces of bark are thrown (one after the other), the man utters the sound "Oã" (i.e., "*h5:*") three times. The mixture of water, salt, and bark is poured into the pit. The chief buffalo and then the others in the herd are allowed to drink this; they are taken to the pit in groups of five or six, and if necessary the pit is filled with more salt and water but without adding more bark (Rivers 1906: 176).

When the buffaloes have finished drinking, the priest throws some grass three times into the pit, and also smears mud from the pit on his forehead. In this state he goes back inside the dairy-temple and brings out the buttermilk for the assembled men to drink. If any of them are in a state of pollution at this time because of a recent funeral in their particular clan, they are not allowed the buttermilk. Platefuls of puffed millet, a favorite

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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ceremonial delicacy, are also served to those who are not polluted (Rivers 1906: 368-369). There follows singing and dancing among the men, some of whom have come from other Toda hamlets for the event.

Rivers (1906: 177) comments briefly: "The object of this ceremony is said to be that the buffaloes shall give a plentiful supply of milk." Part of Emeneau's translation of a song (no. 14) expressed more clearly what is in the minds of the Todas during this ceremony (I quote five verses from it; the rest of the song describes the ceremony and its setting):

Tell the clouds to rise in the sky!
Tell the shade to fall densely!
Tell the beautiful season of showers: "Come!"
Tell the beautiful dews: "Fall!"
Tell the buffalo which has calved a year or more ago:
"Give milk that runs over the handle of the milking vessel!"
Tell the one ball of butter: "Be filtered overflowing the kīḍy measure!"
Tell the barren woman: "Bear a child!"
Tell the barren buffalo: "Bear a calf!"
Tell all the sacred places: "Bless us!"
Tell all the gods: "Do charity!"

It will be noticed that the wishes expressed in this part of the song are almost identical with those we have recorded in the prayer of the Badagas.

Aside from the general intent of this ceremony, we can see that certain of its features parallel the Badaga institution. The priest is in a pure state, and he sprinkles buffalo dung on the floor of the dairy-temple before going out to perform the ceremony. The hole he has dug is of similar shape and size to the Badaga ones, and is located by a stream. Most of the ritual acts are performed three times; as Rivers (1906: 412-413) observes, three is an especially sacred number, and many ritual acts are performed three times. Bark from a wild plant considered highly sacred by the Todas is used in this ceremony as well as certain other rituals. In all these respects the ceremony is closely similar to the Badaga one: it is performed at the same time of year, and it bears a name cognate to the Badaga *'ka:ruppu*.

Yet there are also important differences. The Toda ceremony is performed by the priest alone, on behalf of his entire hamlet. In the Badaga institution, representatives of each family as well as their leaders take roles in it. In fact, it is characteristic of the Toda dairy rituals that only the man who has been sanctified as priest can perform them. As Rivers (1906: 244-245) says:

> The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. . . . He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure.

The cattle shed, the green, and the home play no part in the Toda salt-giving ceremony; and the ceremonial food which is prepared by men and offered to the gathering does not include some of the priest's salt. Women, it is clear, do not play the "backstage" part in the Toda ceremony

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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that they do in the Badaga one. This is in keeping with the Toda practice of keeping women altogether separate from anything that touches upon the herding of buffaloes and the rituals of the dairy-temple, for fear that they pollute the sacrosanct (Rivers 1906: 245).

For the Todas, this is a ceremony which makes reference to what is important in the man's religious life: the priest, the grades of purity, the dairy-temple, the various grades of buffalo, the stream water, and the highly sacred hill mango tree. It is only after the ceremony has been completed and men are singing and dancing that songs may refer, as we have seen, to the more secular blessings of Toda life: calves, rain showers, plentiful milk, and fertile women, as well as the hope for divine favors.

From the field work of Rivers and Emeneau it therefore appears that social groupings are not made visible in the Toda ceremony to the extent that they are in the comparable Badaga one. What is highly visible in the Toda ceremony, however, is an important principle of social differentiation: ceremonial purity. Only the priests are ceremonially pure; ordinary Toda men acting as onlookers lack this purity and so cannot perform dairy rituals. Some men are polluted by having recently attended funerals for fellow clansmen. Men who are so affected should mark the fact by tying their hair in a knot on the front of the head; they are not permitted to drink the buttermilk or eat the festive puffed millet that others who watch the salt-giving are offered.

Women, because of their lack of purity, do not attend any dairy ceremonies. In Badaga society, however, ritual purity, although a desired personal state, is not the important principle of social organization that it is for Todas and for Hindu castes living elsewhere in India; the Badagas emphasize seniority of status instead.

In both Toda and Badaga communities the salt-giving is treated as a sacred ritual rather than a routine act of cattle herding; in both there is some indication of what material blessings man hopes for, and in both ceremonies a major principle of social organization is made visible to participants. We may recall the generalization of Radcliffe-Brown (1958: 17): "In primitive societies any things that have important effects on the social life necessarily become the objects of ritual observances . . . , the function of such ritual being to express, and so to fix and perpetuate, the recognition of the social value of the objects to which it refers."

At the outset of this paper we juxtaposed the traditional communication media of ceremonialism and informal conversation with the new mass media of the press, film, radio, and the poster. It remains only to ask whether these new media have had any effect on the performance of annual rituals such as those we have been analyzing.

It is true that mass media have very much changed both the content of and the time devoted to informal conversations. Villagers now tend to spend less time in gossiping and yet discuss a wider variety of subjects than they used to. Conversation often amounts to a re-evaluation of accepted norms and farming methods which takes into account new information that has reached the villagers from the mass media.

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Coimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

7. Called *'uppu kuk'ke*, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

8. The term *'hubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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PREFACE

121 The human body lives out its years in an environment of oxygen, microbes, food, evil spirits, and love. For some cultures one of these is a dominant influence on man's health, but elsewhere things are otherwise. Perhaps there is nowhere on earth where all five factors are considered equally important in the fulfilment of the human potential. How food, spirits, and love are believed to affect the bodily development of the Badagas is the subject of the present study.

126 [114] It is a subject that is fraught with methodological problems, not the least of which was my lack of formal training in either medicine, pharmacology or botany. However, I could at least take heart from the encouraging words of *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*: "Even without special training it is possible to make useful records concerning the art and practice of medicine among natives, such as the names of diseases, ideas as to their origin, prevention, and treatment" (1929: 345). So I did this, although I felt uncomfortably like the proverbial Badaga "expert": "It is half bad if you do something [wrong] when you know about it; entirely bad if you do it when you are ignorant." For an outsider it should strictly have been [123] impossible to gain any understanding at all of Badaga medicine, since the people have no medical texts or schools of any kind and their therapists believe that cures will lose their efficacy if passed on to anyone but a genuine, accepted Badaga apprentice. An English anthropologist cannot be that. Beyond these difficulties lay serious

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1 INTRODUCTION

An Approach

121 1.1. The complex connections between a folk therapeutic system and the culture within which it operates are the realm of medical anthropology. A medical ethnographer is primarily concerned with the folk definition and classification of illnesses and their cures. Central to this process of definition is the profession of the therapist, for it is that person who makes the relevant diagnostic decisions. The ethnographer will therefore need to explore how therapists, and such related specialists as midwives, try to affect the health and development of each individual, and how a patient will seek or even avoid therapeutic help according to a culturally specific fabric of knowledge, choices and values that people associate with illness and its alleviation.

These folk medical systems are long-lasting. Each system has developed over the course of several centuries within a particular cultural framework. That context includes four shifting factors: environmental changes produced by a people (in the present study, the Badagas of South India); "cultural drift" (i.e., a process of internal change in a cultural system); relations pertaining between the various social units of the community; and successful innovation where the opportunity has permitted. But in addition to this shifting context of meaning and applicability, there is a pharmacological component in a therapeutic system. Virtually none of the cures recorded for the Badagas consists solely in the utterance of a spell or the laying on of hands: instead we find that natural substances are used in specifiable ways to produce particular results.

128 In this book I concentrate on both the cultural context of therapy and its pharmacopoeia. Specifically, the Badaga classification of

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121 society and economy have developed over the centuries. This will not be done here, however, since I have presented the historical data on the community at great length elsewhere (Hockings 1979a; a brief synopsis may be found in Hockings 1972b). If we are to try and understand Badaga society in the way it is now perceived by Badagas and other Indians, then obscure historical references from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries cannot be considered relevant information for this study. Instead of turning to old documentary evidence — of which almost none refers to health — I will therefore rely on my own field observations for the most part. (101) These were made during a total of three years of residence among the Badagas (in 1962-1963, 1969-1970, 1972, and 1976-1977).

127 Although there have been several inaccurate accounts of the Badagas left us by early travellers and officials, and there is voluminous material on their evangelization by French, Swiss and German missionaries, general descriptions of the social organization are rare. I can only commend the well-observed paper by Natesa Sastri (1892) and extensive notes by Thurston (1909). Of some use also are the chapters on Badaga economy by Ranga (1934), and an essay on Badaga religion by Samikannu (1922). Several papers by myself may also be of interest. Unfortunately of these few studies none discusses therapy and only Thurston (1909) is readily to be found in most university libraries because his volumes were recently reprinted. By contrast the small Toda tribe has been the subject of well over a hundred books and articles out of a 2,800-item bibliography on the Nilgiris (Hockings, 1978). While the District has been very heavily studied from every conceivable viewpoint, the numerically preponderant community has been almost wholly ignored. General information about the Badagas and the Nilgiri Hills can be found in the scholarly but now out-dated district gazetteers (Grigg, 1880; Francis, 1908; Nambiar 1965). These are also the chief, though inadequate, sources for information about public health in the Nilgiris in the past.

Topography of the District

133 1.4. It is convenient to think of the Nilgiris as divided into four parts physiographically and ethnically : (1) The Malna:d, or upper plateau, in the elevation range 6,500-8,600 feet. This is pre-eminently the homeland and grazing area for the Todas and their buffaloes.

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shifting their cultivation from year to year to new patches of land, grass has been prevented from getting any firm hold on the denuded hill-sides. Only on the slopes of the plateau (which are too steep for cultivation) and in a few isolated Government reserves, does the forest flourish in its virgin beauty.

West of Dodabetta, however, the Badagas are more rare; hardly a field or a village (except the little clusters of huts belonging to the pastoral Todas) is to be seen. (Francis 1908: 3-4)

Let us then see how, against this backdrop, several hundred Badaga therapists have over the centuries developed a unique medical adaptation to a unique tropical montane environment.

Badaga Medical History

1.5. The history of health care among the Badagas is entirely speculative. Nonetheless the history of the community itself is clear enough, and on this framework (Hockings 1979a) we can at least postulate three phases in the development of Badaga therapy (1.5-1.8). This sketch may later prove inadequate, for it is largely guesswork, but heuristically necessary for our understanding of problems connected with the elaboration of a specifically Badaga montane curative system from its roots in a very different equatorial environment at a much lower elevation.

The first phase began after the year 1565 with the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire. It was this political act and the associated Muslim invasion that impelled the initial Badaga refugees to leave the plains of Mysore District and settle on the much higher Nilgiri Massif immediately to the south. These people were a mere fortuitous selection of one or two hundred from those who made up the vast genetic pools of the Mysore castes; but after settling on the hills their patterns of intermarriage were such that they became more like another isolate. Despite a preference for endogamy, though, their pool was repeatedly augmented by the arrival of occasional new settlers from the Mysore Plains who were accepted into the growing Badaga community.

A century or so after these first settlers arrived, some refugees forming the Kaṇakka clan also came to the Nilgiris. Their special importance lay in the fact that until the mid-nineteenth century the Kaṇakkas were the only Badagas who were somewhat literate. As

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ment. Today that environment has changed so much socially, economically and intellectually that the old therapeutic system is becoming an anachronism. This change is not simply attributable to the fact that scientific medicine is viewed as "better" in any objective sense. The number of Badagas who die either in hospitals or after being brought home (often prematurely) from them is sufficient to bolster a suspicion to the contrary. Nonetheless scientific medicine has now become the medicine of the urban middle classes in the Nilgiris, many of whom are professionals and are taken as a positive reference group by the rest of the community in these matters. The most progressive of Badagas are already finding their place in the broader urban culture of modern South India; and in this context reliance on an antiquated, indigenous therapeutic system is seen by increasing numbers as an embarrassing reminder of the primitive past. Despite the greater cost that may be involved, many Badagas now patronize Badaga doctors with degrees in scientific medicine. Since these doctors are pillars of the local urban middle class, support of them may be seen as evidence of class emulation on the part of Badaga peasants.

1.9. The simple model shown in Diagram 2 indicates some major ecological relationships in Badaga culture, the basic flow of energy, and the role of therapy in helping maintain this system.

The etic reality of these energy relationships is indisputable: only a brief survey of the ethnographic descriptions of the Badagas would demonstrate this. Yet the Badagas' own point of view on the business of living colours these relationships with the particular characteristics of a particular culture, and the recording of that emic viewpoint is essential for a fuller understanding of the culture and its therapeutics. I find myself in agreement with Frake that one

> must discover those features of objects and events which they regard as significant for defining concepts, formulating propositions, and making decisions. This conception of an ethnography requires that the units by which the data of observation are segmented, ordered, and interrelated be delimited and defined according to contrasts inherent in the data themselves and not according to a priori notions of pertinent descriptive categories. (Frake 1962 : 54)

In line with this valuable prescription, I will present in this study an

Table 1. Attitudes Towards Ayurvedic Medicine

	Males	*Females*
"can cure any disease"	18.6%	14.3%
"occasionally may succeed"	25.2%	21.0%
"no: Western medicine is better"	2.7%	5.0%
unascertainable answers	53.5%	59.6%
	($N = 301$)	($N = 119$)

What these figures show is that only about a third of the respondents reported any faith in Ayurvedic medicine, and men expressed somewhat more confidence in it than women. On this question we do find a remarkably high level of non-response: people saying "I don't know" or not understanding the question. Their problem was that they were not all familiar with the sanskritic term *Ayurveda*. (The very low level of confidence in Western medicine is also notable.) In the light of these facts let us therefore proceed to examine how the Nilgiri medicaments are used, and how medical knowledge has been formulated by Badagas, without making any further reference to Ayurveda, since it is clearly a foreign system to them.

1.11. If recognized ailment X can be treated by herbs A and B, and recognized ailment Y is treated by herbs A, B and C, the different combination of herbs underlines that X is conceptually a separate ailment from Y. But what if A is the only pharmacologically active ingredient in either medicine? If it in fact has the same effect on both maladies, possibly they are one and the same from a scientific viewpoint: thus $X = Y$. If such equivalences in Badaga therapeutics could be identified, they would perhaps lead to a somewhat briefer roster of treatment. Why the present larger roster?

I think there are two reasons. One is that having a wider range of diagnoses and cures fosters the impression that therapists are in fuller control of illness, a topic to which we must return later (10,21). All therapy, we will suggest, incorporates an element of ritual and functions to reduce anxiety by it. If this is granted, then it follows that the more illnesses can be identified, the greater are the opportunities for reducing anxiety and fear in patients; whereas a minimal number of treatments could raise some doubts about whether therapy was worthwhile in a particular case.

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function as a whole but in bits. A man in one situation utilizes what in the beliefs are convenient to him and pays no attention to other elements which he might use in different situations. Hence a single event may evoke a number of different and contradictory beliefs among different persons. (Evans-Pritchard 1937: 540)

Much the same thing could be said of Badaga medicine. It is much more of a craft than a science, a fact that Weber recognized long ago as characterizing Indian therapy in general: "Medicine... in India, though highly developed in empirical technique, lacked a biological and particularly a biochemical foundation" (1930: 14).

The very fact that Badaga therapy has some of the characteristics of an art allows each therapist to elaborate the system in her own creative way wherever she sees a benefit in doing so. This brings us to a most important theoretical topic that should be central to all anthropological writing on cultural change, but curiously has not been: namely the role of women in cultural change. What seems like a conspiracy of silence on the subject has come about because of a greater concentration on processes than on personnel. Redfield, Kroeber, and many of their students have concerned themselves with such topics as innovation, diffusion, assimilation, acculturation, and so on, but have for the most part left the impression that these were realms of male activity. Such a misconception arose from a simplistic view of the role of women in alien societies. Indeed, in many of the societies studied it was difficult for male anthropologists to conduct extensive interviews with female informants: the view of female roles was thus to some extent a paraphrase of what male informants within the society saw those female roles to be.... And of course they were commonly stated to be woman as mother, woman as housekeeper, woman as trader, woman as agriculturist; more rarely, woman as politician or as lover. But woman as disciplinarian, poet, philosopher or innovator were topics scarcely ever touched in the cultural change literature. In the Badaga case it seems likely that while men did innovate in such areas as ritual and animal husbandry, women were commonly the innovators in therapy and midwifery, while both sexes probably had a role to play in the extensive agricultural and social innovations that followed upon their settlement on the Nilgiris.

1.13. For convenience we will now summarize very briefly the range of therapeutic practices that are to be described below in Chapters 5-8.

3 SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

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"Lust is deceitful: I have lost my blanket through it."

(Proverb)

Fertility and Morality

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3.1. It may justly be asked why a lengthy treatment of sexual behaviour is considered necessary to an account of Badaga medical conditions. Sex is a normal bodily function, and any diseases associated with this function are dealt with elsewhere in this book (6.61-6.62). Yet there are three reasons why the following emic account of sexual behaviour has been put together. One is that a similarly full account of peasant sexual activity seems to be lacking in the literature currently available on South Asia, and so I am able to fill a certain gap with this difficult and necessarily impressionistic essay. Secondly, the genetic effects of sexual practices are quite different from what Badaga marriage rules would suggest. Those rules represent the Badagas as an endogamous community, made up of a number of almost wholly endogamous phratries, and practising preferential cross-cousin marriage. This picture differs from what we may call the breeding pattern, which clearly allows for genetic intermingling between all of the Badaga phratries, and furthermore for Badaga males to contribute to the gene pool of Kotas, Todas and other neighbouring communities. Thirdly, these breeding patterns are obviously tied to the spread of certain venereal diseases. This is of great importance, since there appears to be a positive relationship between degree of religious orthodoxy, hierarchical status of a phratry, and fertility. To be more precise, the Wodeyas, the phratry highest in status, are orthodox, vegetarian, and Lingayat. My impression was that extra-marital sexual licence was less with this phratry than with certain lower-ranking ones, and much less than with the lowest group, the Toreyas. At the same time my censuses of several Badaga villages showed the following average numbers

121 615 554 [839] 615 163

8 PSYCHIATRIC DISORDERS

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"While living he has no blessing of God; when dead he is not in heaven."

(Proverb)

Spirit Possession

121 8.1. Perhaps no aspects of Badaga therapy fit more clearly into an all-Indian pattern than do the phenomena surrounding possession and the exorcism of ghosts. Readers of the accounts available on North Indian (Lewis 1958: 295-99; Majumdar 1958: 234-36; Opler 1958; Freed and Freed 1964) and Central Indian spirit possession (Harper 1963) will at once recognize in the following pages many points of similarity. Adolescent girls cut off from their natal homes or unsettled by the requirements of adult sexuality are the ones who are especially prone to possession everywhere in India, and when older women also become possessed it seems that they too are feeling very insecure about their positions in the family. In what follows we will discuss the predicament and the curing of a few such persons, and outline the Badaga theory of ghosts, without trying to translate our observations into Western psychological terms. An anthropological view of spirit possession must necessarily take account of the personal and social correlates of these attacks, rather than attempt to couch an analysis of the hysteria in an appropriate professional jargon.

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775 8.2. The Badaga theory of the soul is as reminiscent of Zoroastrianism as it is of Hindu belief. If following death the soul is judged to

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10 THE THERAPISTS AND THEIR KNOWLEDGE

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"If your lifetime is worth six [of something], taking care of [others'] life is a hundred times more valuable."

(Proverb)

The Practice of Therapy

121 10.1. In the Western world today (exclusive of the U.S.A.) the professionals who work in health-related disciplin—esthe doctors, nurses, dentists, opticians, dieticians and others—claim a relatively small segment of most people's attention until a specific physical need arises. Then they go for a consultation, get some treatment, pay the bill and hope to feel better. The specialization and profesionalism of modern medicine find their reflection in the confidence with which most members of the Western public view medical judgements.

It is easy to make subjective equations between Western specialists and their Badaga counterparts. We might equate therapist and doctor, shaman and psychiatrist, exorcist and confessor, midwife and gynaecologist; but we can hardly expect that therapist equals veterinarian too. Indeed, rather than make such facile equations we need to look at the social contexts in which the Badaga specialists work.

10.2. There are certain aspects of the individual's cultural and biological environment which a Badaga feels powerless to change or control. While some of these aspects are understandably beyond

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rational manipulation—imponderable factors like the will of God, for example—others are as close to the individual as the diseases that afflict his own body. It seems that all Badagas recognize six kinds of specialists as mediators between the individual and his cultural and biological environment. (Their importance is incidentally expressed in a proverb: "You should not stay in a village without a mediator [even till] noon.")

The first of these categories is the paramount chief (*na:ku betta gauda*) of all the Badagas, a man whose powers are now greatly diminished, but who in earlier times was ultimately responsible for mediating between the community and the outside world. This meant that he was obliged to intercede with and pay revenue to the Muslim overlords in the eighteenth century and the East India Company in the early nineteenth century. Since then he has continued to mediate between the Badagas and the Toda, Kota and Kurumba tribes on issues that concern the entire community.

Secondly, each hamlet headman (*gauda*), aided by a small council of elders, is responsible for mediating between the individual and the traditional laws and customs of the community. He is thus responsible for conformity and punishment in his hamlet.

Thirdly, the priest in each village, as everywhere else in India, is responsible for mediating between man and the gods. His ability to gain their attention and win their support is crucial for the fertility of crops and cattle, and hence for the well-being of the village community.

These three types of mediators are not primarily concerned with issues of health, except incidentally when a village has to be vacated during an epidemic. But the other three mediators are all health specialists. The midwife is concerned with the yet unborn. The therapist deals with problems of the living body (human or animal). The exorcist mediates between the community and the ghosts of the dead. Each is thus relied upon for mediation in a well-defined sphere, as Diagram 5 illustrates.

This "sphere of mediation" that separates the individual Badaga from the problems of everyday life differs in its economic dimension from comparable mediation in the Western world. We normally pay our doctor or dentist for his professional services when we feel we need them; the Badaga normally does *not* pay directly for any of these six types of mediator, and indeed it is by no means always the suffering individual who makes the decision to

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that the mission hospital was of considerable value, particularly during the War years, except as a place for childbirth. Badagas and others came from villages as far as twenty miles away to seek treatment, and a number of doctor's visits were made to patients in their homes as well. "When our work was first started we were confronted by opposition in some of the villages. Now opposition has disappeared and wherever we go we are welcomed. Moreover, when a patient is very ill we are often requested by Hindu Badagas to hold the patient's hand and pray to God for his or her recovery." (Ketti Medical Mission 1940: 3). From the village where K. Sithamma was born "has come the request to open a small dispensary, the villagers offering to bear part of the cost. If the way opens we shall be glad to help...." (Ketti Medical Mission 1941: 6)

Dr Simon found that the common Badaga diseases were "pneumonia, typhoid, dysentery, hill diarrhoea, malaria, rickets, intestinal parasites, tuberculosis, anaemea, food deficiency diseases, skin diseases such as scabies, ring worm etc." (Ketti Medical Mission 1951 : 3). He also recorded a few deaths among patients due to pneumonia, diphtheria, cerebral hemorrhage, and damage during birth (Ketti Medical Mission 1934: 10; 1938: 3-4; 1951: 3). This is in contrast with the situation reported a century earlier, when the most prevalent diseases were said to be "small pox, occasionally fever, and an affection of the eyes resembling ophthalmia" (Ouchterlony 1848: 65).

The inroads of scientific medicine have been such that in 1972 the informant Sithamma told me that although she used to recommend Badaga therapy as the best, she was now recommending Western medicine and hospitals to people. In her well-informed view therapists giving traditional treatment no longer know it properly: the good therapists are dying out, while younger women are not seriously interested in studying the subject. An old therapist should not teach, but simply be observed by students, and today the young are not motivated to learn in this way. The few girls she had trained in midwifery were still calling for her help whenever they had to attend a delivery.

Knowledge of Physiology

10.12. If we are to gain some further insight into Badaga conceptions of health and medicine, we need to discover their indigenous

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ideas about how the human body works; and this is by no means easy. Many Badagas have studied biology in college or high school; a few are qualified doctors (M.B.B.S.); others again have butchered dead animals; while yet others can at least claim to have someone in their family who has acquired some knowledge of physiology by one of the above avenues. And popular magazines that Badagas read now contain medical sections concerned with their readers' health. Knowing how pervasive this kind of knowledge has become during the present century, I had to be very careful in my choice of an informant who could explain to me the indigenous Badaga notions of how the body functions. I finally selected a man who believes himself to be about 80 years old (in 1977), who is illiterate and has never attended school, who is a Wodeya, and hence orthodox, conservative, and vegetarian, who has never butchered an animal, and who practises some medical cures. What he knows of medicine and physiology he learnt from his illiterate father, and to a lesser extent from his mother, early in the century. His village is situated midway between the villages of my other medical informants, and no further than 5 kms from any of them.

After listening to this man for some hours, I realized that ordinary, uneducated peasants like him can have the confidence to become therapists, winning recognition and trust for their craft, because the village Badaga who is their primary client accepts that the workings of the body are a much simpler system than anything we know of in the Western world. Very broadly, such people see human physiology as a single system, with everything centering on the belly. They do not know of the nervous or muscular systems, and their ideas about the circulation of the blood are so rudimentary that do not recognize the role of the heart in this. They conceive of a single organ in the chest, the *nenju*, which is both the heart and the lungs in our terminology, but which is of no particular importance in their scheme of things. Of course they know that the heart beats, but they believe this to be simply the sound of air vibrating in the *nenju* as it passes down to the belly by the process of breathing.

10.13. There are about 16 organs in the body, and nearly all of them are connected somehow with the belly, which is thus responsible for digestion, blood circulation, reproduction, breathing, smell, and even sight and speech.

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The Meaning of Therapy

12 10.18. One rarely finds himself watching any ritual in his own community for the first time. (A young Badaga told me he had already attended about a hundred funerals: at that rate he might attend some three hundred before the ultimate one.) I would argue that when people watch any such ritual, or when they listen to a myth, they are not expecting something new. Ritual like myth draws its power from its predictability. Badagas observe the steps of a ceremony closely, to see that essential parts are neither omitted nor performed incorrectly; and they manifest a sense of accomplishment at the successful conclusion of the event. Seeing a ritual performed properly gives a sense of security in a life that is often enshrouded in uncertainty.

This is not irrelevant to the present discussion, for it is possible to understand Badaga therapy by viewing it as a class of pragmatic ritual (Mandelbaum 1970: 173-76). In that case, the sense of rightness at the completion of a cure may well have a certain psychological benefit for the patient and his family, even when the cure has involved nothing more than the recitation of a spell. It relieves the anxiety of patient and relatives to have a magically curative act performed for him by a specialist in these matters. It relieves their anxiety to believe that the ritual act will be a practically effective act when they know of no other that will (Malinowski 1935: 395); or to know that their society provides a standard ritual for standard uncertainties (Radcliffe-Brown 1939). Even those therapeutic techniques which we cannot consider medically rational procedures may therefore be presumed to bring some peace of mind.

10.19. Studies of some African healing systems (Buxton 1973: 381-416; Turner 1967 : 299-393) and a Javanese one (Geertz 1960: 86-111) have demonstrated the symbolic nature of traditional therapy in those regions. A comparison of such systems with Badaga therapeutics of course points up a host of dissimilarities both in general procedure and in the specific details. Nonetheless one guiding principle does seem to underlie these diverse examples, and it is the principle that Sir James Frazer termed Sympathetic Magic, that of like producing like. "All the senses—sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch—are enlisted in the service of association and analogy" (Turner 1967: 343).

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Without going through the entire repertoire of Badaga therapy once more to show where symbolic interpretations are possible, we will only look briefly at the treatment given to the childhood illnesses, and take this as a rough sampling of the entire corpus.

In this review we should first note that certain of the treatments appear to involve no symbolic element whatever, but rather to call for the simple manipulation of affected parts of the body (5.27, 5.28, 5.34). In other instances medicines are given which probably have a genuinely therapeutic or nutritional value (although I am not qualified to vouch for the worth of particular medicaments) (5.35, 5.38). Yet we find almost as many treatments reported which appear to have symbolic dimensions, even though some of these may also involve pharmacologically sound procedures. Thus the hair is shaved repeatedly from the head of a baby with scant or patchy hair (5.26). Alternatively little fern buds that look like green ringlets are ground up for use as a shampoo (5.26). In another disease hairy bezoar-stone is rubbed onto the bald patches of a head (5.26). The flesh of a monkey that has a distinctive whooping cry is bought as a cure for whooping-cough (5.31). A cough is cured with medicines made from animal matter associated with tickling, from hares or peacocks (5.29). Pastes of rice-water or American aloe are briefly allowed to encake the lower parts of babies whose legs or hips need strengthening (5.32, 5.33). The final stage of removing tonsils with the fingers involves a substance made from finger millet (the inflorescence of which resembles some tiny fingers; 5.28). When a child gets frightened by a fall a piece of the very ground he has fallen onto is touched to the child's tongue, a most intimate gesture of confidence-building (5.39). And when a child is otherwise frightened a central part of the curing ritual is to startle him again with things that he can see are harmless, namely flowers, grass and water (5.40). (One is reminded here of the English tippler's rememdy, "Have a hair of the dog that bit you!") And after being bitten by a snake one must at all costs avoid something else cold and flowing, namely water (6.22).

What such remedies attempt to do in a symbolic way is to show that the seemingly uncontrollable—the malady and the organs inside a patient's body—can be manipulated by man's mind. This is not usually done, as it is in Western medicine, through the actual manipulation by surgery or pharmaceutics of the disease-causing agents, but rather by the manipulation of materials that are perceived by

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taste, smell, or most commonly sight to be *like* the illness effects: "An invisible force is dealt with visibly by means that are meant and understood to be symbolic" (Ackerknecht 1942).

10.20. The job of the therapist is to bring about, by such culturally appropriate means, the apparent termination of a condition in the sick person which either does prevent him or is potentially going to prevent him from fulfilling all his roles in Badaga society. His disablement may be permanent or quite temporary, but he or his relatives will seek help in ending it. The general status of a sick person in this society (as in any other) is made clearer by considering Talcott Parsons' useful definition of the sick as people unable to perform certain tasks or certain role behaviour. Sickness is thus different from other types of deviance because it is a status that can be legitimized if the person recognizes he is ill, wants to get well, and seeks help from the appropriate mediator in his society when a cure does not come spontaneously by the action of his body defences (Parsons 1951: 428-47).

There is a possibility with older patients, on the other hand, that "sickness episodes may also contribute to the orderliness of social life, since they are a useful vehicle for communicating and legitimizing changes in how social relations are distributed within a community" (Young 1976: 12). Being chronically sick can be a face-saving way of relinquishing roles one is no longer able to fulfil adequately. The many proverbs cited in the preceding chapter (9.1-9.6) indicate the clear recognition in Badaga culture that old age brings the personality into a different, "half-dried log" condition. Consequently there is less concern with healing the sick elders, and less differentiation recognized between a state of illness and one of old age. The elderly are obliged to accept the change and the curtailment of several roles, and chronic illness is in some cases an adequate means of giving them up while adopting a new and simpler role, one that entails fewer obligations.

In such a process of reorientation,

> Sickness episodes are able to communicate complex models in a readily recognizable way. Etiologies cast a broad net, implicating objects, qualities, and events in every aspect of life; they sort out these diverse kinds of fact, combine them into relationships that cannot be articulated in everyday contexts,

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> and by juxtaposing ("polarizing") them with organic processes make them cognitively impressive. (Young 1976: 18)

The task of the therapist in this endeavour is "to communicate and legitimize the episode's outcome... according to rules shared by sick persons, healers, and audiences" (Young 1976: 16). The therapist tries to give some convincing assurance that health will be restored, and is very much a mediator.

Conclusion

10.21. In this study we have seen that the Badaga refugees, after settling on the Nilgiri Massif, began to elaborate principles of therapy that relied on the montane herbs and also on a logic of symbolism. We cannot seriously speak of *one* medical system, however, for it appears that different villages—and there are altogether 370 of them—developed divergent traditions of curing that were transmitted virilocally from older married women to their sons' wives, for the most part, and sometimes to their sons. Badaga therapeutics can be viewed as a type of ritual, and as such it has certain distinctive characteristics. It is a formal technique for mediating between certain individuals and the realm of the unknown, serving some of the more pragmatic needs of people in their dealings with the unknown ; and as ritual it has its specialized practitioners. This however is too general a way of putting the matter. The therapist performs two functions: pharmacalogically, we may expect that some of the ingredients in some of the medicaments have a beneficial effect; and psychologically, we can argue that the curative procedures serve to label some maladies that would otherwise go undiagnosed and unnamed, and thus to make it appear that a medical problem can be taken care of by the therapist. This certainly is an important aspect of the recuperation process. [184]

In their therapeutics and through the accumulated pragmatic knowledge of their specialists the Badaga people have over the centuries attempted to control an impinging aspect of their environment, namely disease. To the extent that the community has survived and multiplied a hundredfold, their therapy is worthy of study and their pharmacology deserves some recognition.

Badaga medicine is also of interest from another point of view. It is not aligned to the Ayurvedic system, which is an aspect of the

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Great Tradition of Hindu culture. Badaga therapy represents instead a localized, Little Tradition. Ayurveda is a relatively closed system; Badaga therapeutics like any folk-medicine is a relatively open one. Individual creativity and change are hallmarks of an open system, or are best expressed within one. In the Badaga case this was one important arena in which women were innovators of culture and preservers of life.

INTRODUCTION

•121 The pace of cultural change is a varying one: sometimes so sluggish that the culture-bearers -- the people involved in it -- notice no change in an entire lifetime; yet sometimes change is so rapid that it engulfs the society with questions about over-turned values, new techniques, old beliefs that no longer bring solace or support.

What determines the pace and the pattern of change? How does a pre-literate and apparently "static" social group increase the momentum of socio-cultural change to the point where they may even lose their own identity in the larger national unit to which they belong?

These are portentous questions, portentous for developing nations as well as for social science. It is unfortunate that for many, perhaps most, societies which until recently were pre-literate none of these questions can adequately be answered: the reason lies simply in the lack of sufficient historical resources.

The on-going cultures of India, unlike much of the newly developing world, are often described by a patchwork of historical accounts, the work of British officials, missionaries and travelers, and occasionally of Indian scholars too. One area where such resources are particularly numerous and rich is the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India. For this area we can piece together a socio-economic history of the past 150 years which throws some light on the processes of change among three indigenous tribal groups, the Todas, Kotas

• 121 and Badagas. In the following pages we shall explore what kind of socio-economic changes have occurred in the Nilgiris, and how they have affected one of these social units, the Badagas, a farming community who began to cross the literacy threshold less than a century ago, but who are now relatively affluent and successful agriculturists and include a number of "professional" men.

Economic developments in the entire South Indian region have undoubtedly been the trigger for recent social change among the Badagas. What has happened to the economy of the Nilgiris District and surrounding areas has not passed the Badagas by; indeed, their own contribution to the Indian economy has brought important social changes in its wake.

To study the impact of economic and external social changes on the Badaga society, I shall begin by presenting an outline of the structure of Badaga society up till about the year 1913. (Why this year was chosen will become clear shortly.) Next, I shall summarize the economic history and the socio-cultural changes in the community during the present century. Finally there will be a summarizing statement about the nature of socio-cultural change in the case of the Badagas and some other comparable Indian communities.

A number of useful descriptions of Badaga social organization can be cited for the century 1812-1912, and the later ones describe the Badagas as essentially in the same condition that we find them in immediately prior to the First World War. Our chosen date of 1913 will thus allow us to base the description on several nearly contemporaneous accounts of the people. At the same time it is not so far removed from the present day that I was unable to get descriptions of conditions at that time from my older informants. 1913 does have the neatness of being exactly half-a-century prior to my own study in 1962-1963;

177 But there is a very real reason for claiming that 1913 is a crucial year, the last
• [121] year of what we might call "traditional" Badaga society. For during the 1914-
1918 War, the Badagas were drawn into the war economy to produce quantities of
European vegetables, primarily the potato, and to sell these to military forces
for what was at that time considered handsome profit. A few Badagas also came
into contact with factory work and the idea of the coöperative society, when they
found employment in a local munitions factory. This is not to deny that any
changes had occurred in the society prior to 1913: they certainly had, but they
were slow to appear and restricted in their scope; moreover, they are generally
178 ill-documented. The most significant and far-reaching of 19th Century changes
were (1) the abandoning of some slash-and-burn cultivation for exclusively set-
tled farming, around 1860-1870; (2) the impact of mission schools, the beginnings
of literacy, and the formation of a distinct Badaga Christian community; (3) the
appearance of new types of merchandise, and the adoption of a cash economy in
place of the earlier system of barter.

127 Published descriptions of Badagas prior to 1913 are these (full information
is given in the Bibliography):

1812 Keys: "A Topographical Description of the Neelagherry Mountains."

1820 Macpherson: "Letter to John Sullivan Esq."

1821 Ward: "Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey of the Neela-
gherry Mountains..."

1823 Mackworth: "Diary of a Tour through Southern India..."

1829 Hough: "Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, &c. &c. of
the Neilgherries..."

1832 Harkness: "A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the

121 1963 Fox: "Caste Dominance and Coercion in the Nilgiris."

These accounts, as should be expected, vary greatly in both their usefulness and their objectivity; meticulous care must therefore be exercised in handling them.

It is largely on these accounts, nevertheless, that we must rely to answer the first large question in this study: what was the "traditional" society, in

•121 1913? In our answer we first examine the traditional position of the Badagas in Nilgiri society. This leads on, logically enough, to an account of their political and judicial system. We then come to the theme of how marriage is regulated in Badaga society, and how its main social groups are constituted. In continuation of this topic, we consider the status differentials of "class" and affluence. Finally we show how the Badagas subscribe to four different religious belief-systems, and also how religious and other disputes from time to time lead to the emergence of factions within the community.

124 Present-day informants can still relate something of what "traditional" Badaga life was like; when we come to consider what social and economic changes have occurred in the Nilgiris since 1913, their testimony becomes much fuller than the few published accounts available -- thus field-work takes over as his-

121 torical research gives way. The changes that we consider in this thesis are those in the spheres of agriculture, markets, communications, employment opportunities, law and administration. Each of these topics will be considered in turn.

This section of the dissertation leads into other major questions: How has the social organization changed in reaction to these other cultural changes? Who were the agents of change? And why should the changes occur in the manner that they have? In these final sections of the thesis we consider the impact of particular social groups, reference individuals, and communications media, on

121 the Badaga culture. We have to ask how their case compares with documented change elsewhere in India, and what broad theoretical conclusions may be drawn from such comparisons.

Acknowledgments

122 To the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Social Science Research Council, and the University of California, I proffer my sincere thanks for the sinews of war. Like any phase of a development project, the completion of a doctoral thesis requires something more than an adequate flow of capital: technical 000 guidance and inspired planning should always lead the way. In both of these, the constant interest and assistance of David G. Mandelbaum have been of immeasurable value. I have also been fortunate in the guidance given me by Gerald D. Berreman and Murray B. Emeneau. Eugene A. Hammel, also on the faculty at the University of California, has kindly read and criticized the manuscript in an earlier form.

127 Anthony R. Hazelden-Walker, of St. John's College, Oxford, has put at my disposal his own field-notes on the Todas; these have helped me considerably. It is also a pleasure to record here my appreciation of Mr. Hazelden-Walker's stimulating companionship while we were working in the Nilgiris together.

000 Apart from the assistance accorded me by these five gentlemen, this thesis has also benefitted from comments by Chie Nakane, Martin Orans, Surajit Sinha, and M. N. Srinivas.

128 The speed with which it has been possible to complete the work is largely (14) due to one person, my mother, Mary Hockings, who took upon herself the horrendous task of typing and classifying the data onto IBM cards. My wife, Amelia

128 The economic and social relations between these four communities were summarized diagrammatically by Zvelebil in the (perhaps over-simplified) way shown on p. 22.

The Badagas: Tribe or Caste?

•121 In the numerous publications about the Nilgiri peoples there have been certain fashions in writing. One of these fashions was, during the 19th Century, to call the Badagas a "tribe", but during the 20th Century to call them a "caste". As a matter of fact, the two words "tribe" and "caste" have been used so loosely in India that it is better for an ethnographer to avoid them if at all possible. Many cases of Indian social groups which are undoubtedly tribes or undoubtedly castes could be listed; but what of the numerous cases of groups which seem to be "caste-like" tribes or "tribe-like" castes? If we are really dealing with a continuum in social typology, the distinction between tribe and caste in the case of the Badagas will not be an important one.

Let us nevertheless explore this topic a little. What do we mean by a "society", first? A society is the largest segment of a population in which the people recognize themselves as inhabiting a definable territory, and as engaging in meaningful, patterned interaction. Normally the society will be marked off from others by having a distinctive name and very often a distinctive language as well. In view of this definition and the complexity of Badaga interaction with other 619 [121] Nilgiri peoples, it appears that the Badagas hardly constitute a distinct society by themselves. It is certainly true that there is a much higher per capita frequency or length of interaction taking place within the Badaga community (or within the Toda or the Kota community, for that matter) than across these community 648 boundaries. The social boundaries of each tribe are very recognizable disconti-

418 nities. On the other hand, the interaction which does take place across these boundaries is rigidly patterned and is necessary for the continuance of the entire Nilgiri social system -- or at least it was so until about 1913. Prior to that date the abandonment of the traditional relationships by any one of the Nilgiri tribes would have spelled economic disaster for the others. Where could the Todas go for their metal tools if not to the Kotas? Where could the Kotas get their cloth if not from their Badaga trade partners? Where could the Badagas look for protection against supernatural attack if not to their own sorcerer-watchman? It is true that material goods could be purchased in the town bazaar during the 19th Century; but this required cash, not a promise of a share in the harvest, and very few tribesmen possessed any cash.

• 121 The most meaningful interpretation to place on the complex situation in the Nilgiris is that all of the tribal groups there together make up a single society. Each tribe has its own part to play in the economy of the whole; each has a distinctive social status; but these two characteristics depend upon their recognition by the other tribal members of the social system.

418 There are, on the other hand, jungle-dwelling groups like the Urālis, Irulas and Solagas who are very isolated from the tribes of the plateau, but are equally isolated from the plains villages. Their infrequent contact with the people of either area is probably sufficient ground for considering them as a separate society, particularly as their economy has in the past been relatively self-sufficient. Certainly these people are at the farthest limits of Nilgiri society, which are geographically as hazy and yet as clear as social boundaries usually are in Asia.

121 There is nothing unusual in a single society being characterized by several

distinct cultures. This phenomenon is readily seen in the United States of America, and is an equally obvious feature of Indian city or even multi-caste village life. It could be argued that there are large areas of India, generally hilly in terrain and popularly termed "tribal", which are characterized by a social organization similar to that found in the Nilgiris: several tribes living in the same or contiguous territory, together constituting a single interacting system, comprising a single economic system, but still being distinguished each by its own tribal culture. This situation exists in the Wynaad, to cite one handy example from the West of the Nilgiris District.

Again we are faced with the question: What is the real difference between a multi-caste peasant society and a society made up of several tribes? If we may judge from the case of the Nilgiris, the difference lies in the content of the culture rather than the structure of the society. "Caste" and "tribe" are common and popular terms, known to English speakers throughout India; but as they appear to apply to a continuum in the typology of Indian societies, I do not consider them very useful concepts for sociological analysis. Let us review how other scholars have handled this question.

Mandelbaum has succinctly stated the case for seeing Nilgiri society as a caste society:

> ...the four indigenous peoples formed a kind of caste system of their own. In my study of one of these groups, the Kotas, it was clear that their relations with the others were very much like relations among more typical caste-groups, and this in spite of the fact that the Kotas and their hill neighbors--the Todas, Badagas, and Kurumbas--lacked certain of the usual attributes of Indian caste society. The Kotas had no scriptures or Brahmans; their gods were gods for the Kotas only; their ceremonies were not shared with others, and they knew next to nothing of such classic doctrines as that of reincarnation. [A similar statement could also be made for the Todas and Badagas.]
>
> Yet, as in the usual caste order, each of the four tribes had an

• 121

occupational specialization—the Kotas were artisans and musicians for the others—each group was dependent on every other for certain essentials, each was endogamous, and the groups arranged themselves in a hierarchical order defined according to certain ritual standards which all acknowledged. Thus the Todas who subsisted mainly on ghee and grain were, by that token particularly, accorded higher rank than the Kotas who were far from being vegetarians.

Together the four formed a social system: each group was clearly demarcated, each was dependent on the others, all cooperated to preserve the standards and the normal operation of their mutual system when its proper functioning was threatened either from within or without. (Mandelbaum 1958: 4-5)

There is considerable consensus in the hierarchical ordering of these groups. Any Toda, for example, will be able to rank the Nilgiri tribes in descending order — Toda, Badaga, Kurumba, Irula, Kota; and any Badaga will give the same hierarchy, save only that he will reverse the ranking of the first two groups. The other lower groups place either Todas or Badagas at the top — generally Todas — and then try to boost their own position as far up the hierarchy as seems feasible at the time (depending on whom they are talking to).

Many people — perhaps too many — have written on the nature of Indian caste, yet very few have maintained a clear distinction between the social and the cultural features associated with it. One scholar who has torn the word "caste" away from its popular usage in order to give it a more precise sociological definition is F.G. Bailey:

> For a given society to exhibit a caste system it must be divided into groups which
> a) are exclusive (no one belongs simultaneously to more than one group),
> b) which are exhaustive (everyone belongs to some group), and
> c) which are ranked.
>
> The above are defining criteria for a system of social stratification. To define 'caste' we need to say, in addition, groups
> d) which are closed (recruitment is by birth only),
> e) relations between which are organized by summation of rules, and
> f) which co-operate and do not compete. (Bailey 1963: 121)

• 121 This is an adequate sociological definition because it is potentially universal in its application. Most definitions of caste are inadequate, on the other hand, because their references to Hinduism restrict them to descriptive -- and not comparative -- use in the sphere of Indian culture only. It would be impossible, for example, to compare Mysore and Mississippi as two examples of a caste society if we had already made Hindu religion an integral part of our definition of caste.

If we accept Mandelbaum's contention that Nilgiri society is a caste society, and if we now apply Bailey's definition to the case of the Nilgiris, there is no doubt that each of the tribes there, including the Badagas, can justifiably be considered a caste. This approach has been taken by Fox who erroneously, I believe, terms the Todas the "dominant caste" (Fox 1963).

Bailey, who has provided us with a useful definition of a caste system, has also addressed himself elsewhere to the problem of distinguishing between a "tribe" and a "caste". The conclusion he reaches, based on his own study of the Konds and Oriyas in the Kandmal Hills of Orissa, is an important and pertinent one for the Nilgiri situation too. Bailey feels that the anthropologist must

> cease to hope that particular societies will fall neatly into one or the other category. Rather, in this context, we must see 'caste' and 'tribe' as opposite ends of a single line. Particular societies are to be located at different points along this line, some nearer to the segmentary tribal model, others close to the model of an organic caste society. In other words, of each society we ask the question: To what extent is this society organized on segmentary principles and to what extent is it organic? We do not ask disjunctively: Is this a tribe or a caste? (Bailey 1961: 13-14)

Apparently the tribal end of the continuum is distinguished from the caste end -- at least in the Kondmals -- by differentials in land ownership:

> The larger is the proportion of a given society which has direct access to the land, the closer is that society to the tribal end of the continuum. Conversely, the larger is the proportion of people whose right to land is

• 121 achieved through a dependent relationship, the nearer does that society come to the caste pole. (Bailey 1961: 14)

Having made such a clear (though possibly controversial) distinction, Bailey finally closes his discussion by admitting:

> The definition of "tribe", which I have used, is not "all-purpose". It is designed only to help our understanding of political and economic change. It should not be used to categorize concrete societies: it refers to modes of behaviour, which are exemplified more in some societies, and less in others. (Bailey 1961: 19)

Dumont, in a criticism which ignores this qualification to Bailey's definition, asks why this unilinear continuum is the only dimension by which Bailey chooses to distinguish between tribe and caste:

> a tribe may or may not retain a close link with a territory in becoming a caste (dominant or dominated); it becomes a caste when it acknowledges the values of the caste system. (Dumont 1962: 122)

This may be true; but as the careful scholar should define how he is using the key concepts in an analysis, the kind of dialogue on the use of terms which Dumont and Bailey are engaged in here appears to raise a dead issue rather than lay it to rest.

For the purpose of our study of the Nilgiris, let us note in agreement with Bailey and Dumont that:

(1) No absolute dichotomy between the terms "tribe" and "caste" is feasible: some Indian groups have both tribal and caste-like characteristics.

(2) Hence Dumont places the Piramalai Kallar (whom he studied) in a middle position on the tribe/caste continuum (Dumont 1962: 120); we may do likewise with the Badagas.

(3) As Bailey has demonstrated (1961), the distinction is also a matter of the social analyst's focus: a "tribe" is generally a whole society, whereas a "caste" is essentially only a part of some larger social unit.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AWSO Badaga AWSO

•121 In summary, there is apparently no single clear or widely accepted distinction between these two terms when they are used as tools of social analysis; and so far as the Nilgiri peoples are concerned, it seems useful to recognize this as a case of a caste society having several indigenous cultures. It certainly seems an unrealistic alternative to describe the Badaga segment of Nilgiri society as a caste and the other segments as tribal.

I thus find myself in the awkward position of not wishing to call the Badagas either tribe, caste or society. On the one hand they are neither wholly tribe nor wholly caste, and on the other they are not a whole society. I will therefore consider them a "community" in the sense that the Wilsons have used the term: an aggregate of people who are to some degree localized in time and space and who manifest a relatively intense common life (Wilson and Wilson 1945: 30). "Community" is a word that is often used, especially in rural sociology, as a synonym for "settlement"; but it is useful to maintain a distinction. We will say that the Badagas are a community of about 400 settlements.

The Badaga Political and Judicial System

631 For over a century, and perhaps since the earliest Badaga settlement, the whole of the Nilgiris and the Wynaad has been divided up into five regions, for purposes of the indigenous political organization of the inhabitants (Ward 1821: bri-brii). In each of the five divisions there live Todas, Kotas, Badagas, Irulas and Kurumbas. The divisional boundaries, together with the modern towns and a few of the major Badaga villages, are shown on the map overleaf (p. 30).

103 (631) The largest in area of these divisions is the westernmost one, called Mallanad (generally shortened to Mallad or Malnad). The word, I was told, means "District of Malla", and was given because it was supposedly first explored

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 31]

103 by a Toda of that name. (A much more likely derivation is from male, meaning "mountain" in Badagu.) It was a wasteland of jungles which under the British administration was opened up to tea and coffee planters, and came to be called Wynaad. Badagas also use the term Malnad (mal a·ṛ, in Toda) to include the western slopes and mountainous ridge of the Nilgiri Plateau (cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 314). Because the Wynaad is geographically so isolated from the Nilgiris, 184 the Badagas living there operate a separate and rather different system of village •121 government than that existing on the plateau. (We shall not be concerned with their social organization in this study. They are briefly described in Ranga 1934: 25-28.)

631 (103) The next largest of these political divisions is Todanad, so named because it is mostly the domain of the Todas. This land lies in the western half of the plateau, immediately to the east of Malnad.

In the north-eastern sector of the plateau is Paranginad, a name commonly shortened to Parangad. This division has relatively few Todas, but a thick concentration of Badagas and quite a number of Irula and Kurumba settlements at the lower elevations.

(103) To the south of Paranginad lies another division with a heavy population of Badagas but very few Todas, Merkunad (meaning "Western District").

Directly to the west of Merkunad and on the southern edge of Todanad (166) lies the smallest of these divisions, Kundenad, generally called Kunda. This is apparently the most recently settled of all the divisions, for it alone is not recorded as a division in the earliest British writings about the Nilgiris (Ward 1821: lxi). (133) The terrain is very hilly there, and it was only in the last century that the pressure for land in the rest of the plateau was sufficient to encourage Badaga

S: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND THE REGULATION OF BADAGA MARRIAGE

Introduction

•121 We have now placed the Badagas in a socio-economic context, as participants in a political and economic system which used to link them firmly with Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Continuing in our description of the "traditional" society, as it was about the year 1913, we now will face the central question of how marriage was regulated, how the continuance of social units was ensured from one generation to another. This involves no narrow concentration on a kinship system, but rather a broad view of the major groupings found in the social organization of the Badaga community.

Most of the people who have written anything about the Badagas have followed popular usage and stated that this community is divided up into several castes, sub-castes or jatis (e.g. Thurston 1909: I, 72). It is my contention, however, that a society cannot always best be understood if it is analyzed primarily in descriptive terms borrowed from some other social organization, in this case the caste organization of Hindu villages in the plains (cf. pp. 23-29, above). In point of fact only one of the groups commonly identified as sub-castes among the Badagas is altogether endogamous (the Toreyas), and the ceremonial and economic links between most of them are very slight even as compared with the links bet-

121 ween any Badaga hamlet and its nearest Kota village. Such facts as these show that Badaga social organization is unlike the usual jati system in Indian rural areas. We have already made the point that Badaga society occupies a midway position along a caste/tribal continuum (cf. p. 28). It is thus not surprising to find that, while there is a caste-like hierarchy, Badagas practice marriages which, if they were to occur between ranked jatis, could not only be called hypergamous but also hypogamous. The irrelevance of the hierarchy in the arrangement of marriages marks the Badaga practice off from that of caste societies.

Using anthropological terminology, how then can we describe Badaga society less ambiguously? (In the pages that follow the term lineage denotes a group of consanguineal kinsfolk who affirm a bond of unilineal kinship traceable genealogically, in the Badaga case, for about seven patrilineal generations. A sib, i.e., a patrilineal clan, consists of a number of such lineages, and is a unilinear kin group in which the actual descent from a common male ancestor can only be presumed. A phratry is a grouping of two or more sibs whose members assume a common bond of kinship, which they support with a story of their common origin; and although in many societies a phratry is exogamous, we must use the term more loosely in the Badaga case to apply to a group that is typically endogamous but in certain cases permits exogamy.)

614 The Badaga community is made up of 17 exogamous sibs sharing a common culture and territory. (Before 1913 two more sibs of Badaga Christians had been 128 added to this number.) The situation which now exists among intermarrying sibs is a very complex one, and requires a clarifying diagram (p. 46) as well as a long description. Each rectangle in the diagram represents one sib, and thin lines link the intermarrying sibs. Before presenting a detailed account of these units, we

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47

615 Nobody, on the other hand, disputes with the Toreyas for the lowest position in the hierarchy of Hindu Badagas; not even the Kotas have attempted this -- and they are lower still.

•121 It is a characteristic of jati hierarchies in almost every part of India that there are differences of opinion about the exact ranking of any particular jati. A cursory view of the welter of data available for different regions of India also strongly suggests that there is perhaps more widespread agreement in any community about the rank of the jatis that are highest or lowest in a local hierarchy than about the exact position of all or some of those in intermediate positions. It is a statement that is also true in broad outline for the Badagas; but it does not really explain anything. The similarity of the grosser features of the Badaga hierarchy -- such as it is -- to hierarchies found in most Hindu villages in no way helps clarify the complexity of what among Badagas corresponds to the "middle jatis" in those Hindu (614) villages. For the sibs inferior to Wodeyas and superior to Toreyas can in general intermarry either hypergamously or hypogamously: that is, sib ranking is formally irrelevant in the arrangement of marriages.

614 Two kinds of explanation can be offered for this feature. The less likely one is a historical explanation, for which there is some slight evidence. It is that the Badagas only thought of ranking their sibs into an all-Badaga hierarchy during the last century, after there had been some contact with laborers and Brahmins from villages in the plains. Such an argument would imply that the indigenous marriage system has been retained, but that a new ranking system for the various endogamous units was superimposed as one aspect of a process generally called 175 Sanskritization (cf. Srinivas 1962). The earliest detailed accounts of the Badagas 614 make it clear, however, that even in the early part of the 19th Century there was

582 between the bride and her husband's mother, who is of course her father's sister
(581) (Benbow 1928: 20). Badagas expect that a bride who is father's sister's daughter
to her husband will be more timid and easier to control than one who is the
(578) mother's brother's daughter. At the root of this preference lies a conflict of
roles: there is a very real problem for a Badaga if his wife's father is also his
own mother's brother, since these are two very different roles. One entails giving
his daughter to a young man, and receiving a sum of money "in return"; the other
entails acting as the young man's spiritual guide. Most Badagas feel that there is
a certain ambiguity involved if a single individual, vis-à-vis his sister's son, has
both of these roles at once. It is quite common for Badagas to marry more distant
relatives who are only "mother's brother's daughter" or "father's sister's daughter"
in a classificatory sense, however, in which case the ambiguous situation we have
described and the conflict that it might generate can both be avoided.

The Phratries

615 The most deep-seated -- and certainly the oldest -- divisions in the
Badaga community are those between the phratries. Each phratry is said to have
a distinct historical origin, and remains a distinguishable social entity today for
614 purposes of arranging marriages and celebrating certain rituals. The sibs per-
haps come closer than the phratries to being corporate groups in most cases: each
(621) hamlet is typically the home of members of one sib only. In the few cases where
families from another sib are also present, they are recognized as being fairly
• 121 recent immigrants, and their "native" hamlet is known to all. In view of the cen-
tral importance of the sib structure to an understanding of Badaga social organiza-
tion, we will now present in some detail an account of the features which distinguish
128 each phratry and its constituent sibs. These will be treated in the order that many

614 of ancestral Kapakkas and are worshipped but never read. No ancient manuscripts
778 were discovered in Kannada, it should be noted.

582 Kapakkas intermarry with Adikaris, Haruvas and Kaggunis, and during
614 this century some have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. A few cases of Kapakkas marrying Wodeyas have also been cited above (p. 54).

As Kapakkas and Adikaris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other sib, and as they are both Lingayat groups, they are normally accorded equal status by all Badaga phratries. The regulations for Kapakka commensality are precisely the same as those described above for the Adikaris.

614 Among the smallest sibs is the one called Kaggusi. Their numbers must
[162] total slightly under a thousand. These people are vegetarians who inhabit only four hamlets. They wear neither the sacred thread nor the lingam. The sib, like all
582 others, is exogamous: they intermarry mainly with Kapakkas, but also with Haruvas
614 and Gaudas. It is interesting to note that the Adikaris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, because Kapakkas do marry them, they must be fictive brothers to the Adikaris; yet no such argument stops an Adikari from marrying a Haruva. Perhaps Haruva/Kaggusi marriages are too infrequent to be remembered by the Adikaris.

615 Some 90% of the total population of Badagas are Gaudas; for which reason
[162] this phratry is commonly called Badaga. A rough estimate puts their population at around 80,000 people. It is preferable to use the correct but not widely recorded
● [121] term Gauda, since it obviates the confusion that can arise in calling a single phratry and also the entire community by the same name. The word Gauda also gives an important clue to their history and the origin of the Badaga political system; for

•121 We shall now consider the lower end of the "social ladder", the poorest Badaga families, so as to see how their lack of either affluence or influence affects their position in Nilgiri society.

There is very widespread agreement across India and Pakistan that certain occupations, and the jatis centered on them, are of low respectability. Among the commonest of such occupations are washerman, scavenger, barber, blacksmith, leather-worker, and basket-maker. In the Badaga economy, however, none of these occurs as a regular kind of employment. The lowest phratry are the Toreyas, and (615) their inferiority relative to the other phratries is explained by the fact that they act as messengers and "village servants" to the others. The duties of blacksmith, leather-worker and basket-maker, as we have already seen, are roles for members of some other tribes with which the Badagas interact; and thus these needs of the Badagas can adequately be met by local non-Badagas. How do Badagas handle the supposedly demeaning tasks of the washerman, the scavenger and the barber?

462 Women wash the family clothes, and it is not a shame for even a boy to wash clothes -- although adult men will not do it (Macpherson 1820: lix; Ranga 1934: 71). It is only the poorest of Badaga families who might supplement their 463 income -- and particularly if they own no land at all -- by washing the clothes of SSH others, however. Even in their case, this does not become a full-time occupation. In the same way only the poorest of Badaga men would act as barbers to richer men. For both these services payment used to be made in grain. One would never see two men shaving each other on a reciprocal basis, except among the very poorest who had made this a subsidiary occupation (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). The most demeaning of all services that a poor man might find himself obliged to (515) perform is that of shaving the pubic hair from richer men. It is common to remove

CHAPTER V

FACTION AND FAITH

121 Prior to the year 1913 only two factional divisions appeared in Badaga history. Each of these was the result of a conflict over religious issues; and each started as a conflict in a single hamlet and grew to Nilgiri-wide proportions. As some of the more recent factional disputes, to be discussed later in this thesis, are also concerned with articles of faith, it will be necessary first of all to introduce the reader to the religious systems of the Badagas. Once these are understood, at least in outline, our discussion of factionalism will become clearer.

Śaivites, Lingayats and Christians

795 Among the Badagas four distinct religious systems are to be found. The great majority of the people (perhaps 90%) fall within the general category of South Indian Śaivites. Three minorities, each numbering several thousand adherents, are 121 the Lingayats, the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. In the present study there will be no need to go into questions of the history, doctrine or ritual of any of these creeds. A short note on the manifest characteristics of each system will suffice.

796 The Badaga Śaivites, including the Lingayats, acknowledge the existence 799 of seven kinds of supernatural being, each of whom receives some kind of ritualized respect.

First and most important is the Hindu god Śiva, who is regarded, by

621 (793) (794) (518) (798) recent Catholic hamlets, where discipline is maintained by the priest himself. There is one hamlet, long the scene of bitter disputes because of its mixed composition, where now the Gaudas, Adikaris and Christians all sit together in the traditional village council. In 1913 such cooperation was not possible.

The Factions

•121 There is no published evidence of any kind of factional division among the Badagas until the late 1850's. The challenging question that this fact poses must therefore remain unanswered: Was the emergence of factional disputes a reaction to the stresses of crossing the threshold into the modern world, a world which introduced the Badagas to a cash economy with international markets, a code of law under which they were supposedly on an equal footing with everyone else, opportunities for schooling and literacy, obligations to pay taxes and obey strange foreign officials? Or was the periodic factional restructuring of the community an integral part of Badaga life, something which has occurred for as long as Badagas have existed? We do not know.

121 518 There are two different types, or rather different scales, of factions, but both are designated by the same word (kha6él, or in one dialect kha?él; cf. Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 79 for cognates). First, there are what might be called "personal" factions or feuds, which stem from differences of opinion in a single hamlet about a villager's personal grievance. The second kind of faction embraces virtually all Badaga hamlets, each of them taking one side or the other in some dispute of general concern to everybody. Descriptions of Badaga reaction to the earliest religious conversions suggest that this type of faction grows out of what is initially a dispute confined to a single hamlet (cf. Basel Mission 1889: 67-68; Anonymous 1894: 547-551; Eppler 1900: 153-155).

From these 19th Century descriptions several accounts might be culled of the process by which factional behavior starts. A much more recent illustration of faction-formation is preferable, however, because of the subjectivity in the early missionary writings. The case I have chosen is my summary of the informant's account (and, as in my other quotations from field-notes, the name used is fictitious).

"Early in 1963, when one hamlet was planning to stage a funeral, the headman asked every household to donate three meals for the visitors expected. One man, Raman, was requested to prepare four meals, either through mistake or for some unknown reason; and he did as asked, but only to find that nobody came to his house to eat them. Why this should be is not clear: apparently Raman was not a very pleasant person to get along with. He complained that the cost of the meals should be refunded to him from the general village funds, but the headman decided to do nothing about it. From this situation two factions arose which divided the entire hamlet into two separate communities.

"At first only three households closely related to him supported Raman; but then, after another funeral had occurred in the hamlet, the other people there who were related to those three households, because they were all in the same lineage, found themselves drawn into Raman's faction. At this point the hamlet council, led by the headman, forbad any women to help members of Raman's faction by such duties as working in their fields. Because of this proscription there were a number of women who found themselves forced into joining Raman's faction: they perhaps had no strong feelings about the actual dispute, but they were too poor to forego the Rs. 1½ they were earning as daily laborers in the fields of those people.

"Thus within a few weeks from the start of the grievance typical factional

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Although it is the Wodeyas whom the Haruvas contest for ritual superiority, there has been no open clash between Haruvas and Wodeyas. This is not too surprising, since Wodeyas are Lingayats, while Haruvas are not; Wodeyas do not employ Haruva priests; Wodeyas do not intermarry with Haruvas at all; and so Wodeya/Haruva interaction has always been minimal. The main clash in this dispute has been between Haruvas and most Gaudas, who resent the Haruva claim. Only a minority of Gaudas support the Haruvas; the other Gauda hamlets, together with most Toreya, Kapaklka, Adikari and Kaggusi hamlets, have not only denounced the Haruva claim but have long ago broken off their traditional relations with the Haruvas. The Haruva priests have been supplanted by non-Haruva members of the hamlet; marriages with Haruva men and women have ceased, and already married couples were sometimes divorced by the hamlet headmen; interdining with Haruvas was stopped; and occasionally fights would break out, particularly at festivals when the traditional Haruva priests tried to perform their ritual functions and members of the anti-Haruva faction tried to stop them.

The Haruva dispute has never been "solved". In the earlier decades of its history it was marked by the usual fights, lack of intermarriage or interdining between disputants, and even by resort to the British Indian legal system. Recently the dispute has cooled to the point where it only becomes relevant in the arrangement of marriages. This also seems to be the case with the conflict between Hindu and Christian Badagas.

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In Chapter VII we shall return to the topic of factionalism, for it has been a pervasive element in the socio-cultural changes of the 20th Century.

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5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER VI

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In this and the chapter which follows we shall be concerned with the socio-cultural changes that have occurred in the period since 1913, (the year we have chosen as marking the break between the traditional and the monetary economy).

Agriculture

Until around 1860-65 the Badagas not only cultivated fields lying close to the hamlets, but also practiced shifting slash-and-burn cultivation in the wooded areas (Grigg 1880: 321). After the British land settlement of 1881-1884 this practice was completely stopped. By the year 1913 most Badaga households were cultivating their own land within a mile of their homes. The land was generally hilly and always unirrigated. The best fields lay in the valley flats, not so much because of the proximity of stream-water as because there was rich top-soil on these flats. Badagas recognized these differences in soils and terrain, both when choosing where to plant their crops and when dividing up the paternal inheritance. Soil distinctions were important, but distance from the hamlet could be yet more significant. Lands were therefore catagorized by Badagas primarily as being close to the hamlet (within ¼ mile), distant from it, or in jungle clearings (Francis 1908: 165; Ranga 1934: 11-14). The first type of land received much of the cattle manure and all of the human refuse; the more distant land received little manure of any des-

177 Until the end of the last century Badagas sedulously avoided the British
178 legal system and its officers. The traditional Badaga system, which we described
earlier (pp. 29-43), continued to operate effectively. In the following chapter we
121 shall describe the social change which came about during the present century when
Badagas were obliged to adapt their legal system so as to make use of the official
Indian one too.

657 Local government under the British was in practice confined for the most
(631) part to the municipalities. Some police stations were established in rural areas,
(625) and local roads were constructed; but in general there was little attempt to im-
(870) prove the lot of the Badagas. In a few villages the presence of free mission
schools from 1857 onward nevertheless did much to raise the standard of educa-
tion (cf. Grigg 1880: 423-26).

After Independence, on the other hand, the Indian government began to pay a great deal of attention to developing the rural sector of the country. The Nilgiris was not selected for inclusion in the areas subjected to intensive community development in the early 1950's, but local panchayat offices were set up in the administrative "villages" of the Nilgiris, and began the dissemination of information and the improvement of basic services. The Badagas were classified as a "Backward Class" and received special help in these matters from the Harijan
(312) Welfare Department. Today most villages, as a result of these efforts, have a
(491) fairly hygienic supply of running tap-water, a track connecting them with the main
(365) roads, and an electricity supply. Many villages have started their own coopera-
(474) tive society, through which they get loans and agricultural supplies against the security of their lands or houses.

177 Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the recent

692 671 nuisances under the Indian Penal Code (sections 277, 283, 290 and 510) and the Madras Towns Nuisances Act, and generally any other offence under the Indian Penal Code or any special or local law which is punishable with fine only or with imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or with both.

(681) (685) The sentence which a panchayat court may pass is [a] fine not exceeding Rs. 15, except in cases of theft or mischief where the fine may extend to twice the value of the property stolen or the amount of damage caused. (Madras 1958: 50)

121 Since such a multiplicity of courts, officials, regulations and legal systems now faces a Badaga, how does he select where to go with a legal complaint? There are a number of factors that guide his handling of the problem.

692 The prime consideration is apparently not the seriousness of the complaint but the good repute of a man's own village. I know of several cases of murder and suicide which were handled entirely by the traditional Badaga council in the village where the acts were committed. This procedure contravenes Indian law, since any such criminal offences should automatically be reported to the police and if necessary be examined in a magistrate's court. (It is supposedly the headman's duty to decide whether a case should be placed before a magistrate.)

(632) 692 829 Badagas, on the other hand, whether siding with the victim, the malefactor, or neither, prefer that all such matters be cleared up by the headman and his council without the village name being marred through a police investigation and loose gossip. For the same reason they also try to stop the case going on to the next higher level of council in their own traditional system.

691 692 Despite this state of affairs, it is very common for a case which has already been judged by the village council to be taken to a court of law by whichever side has lost; hence we characterize the present procedure as "ambi-legal". The practice has arisen because it is widely known that the decisions of a traditional village council are not legally binding and are often not very impartial either. On

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Socio-Cultural Changes

We are now at the point where the nature of change among Badagas needs to be described in broader outline, so that it may be compared with the patterns of change documented in other parts of India. As in the preceding chapters, we shall confine our interest to changes which have occurred since 1913.

The cultural adjustments that Badagas have made to a changing Indian economy have relied heavily on their adoption and adaptation of alien customs and techniques. Social changes among the Badagas have been similar to changes elsewhere in India, but have at the same time been worked out independently by the Badagas to suit their own peculiar situation.

Agricultural change during recent decades occurred after Badagas, no longer permitted to clear new land in the jungles, opted to reap the rich fruits of a cash market in need of fresh vegetables, and later of tea and coffee. The community was never coerced into making this important change; but because the people did choose to enter this new kind of economic relationship with non-Badagas, they became involved in a long string of connected cultural changes. To succeed in growing a cash crop -- and success was imperative if people were not to starve -- the Badagas were obliged to learn new ideas about seed fertility, chemical fertilizers, terracing, and field lay-out; they had to adopt new types of tool, and discard

S: Hockings E-S (1962-1963) 1989
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578 status than the other two groups of converts. Another unusual type of cleavage appeared in the Badaga Students' Association at Madras University: in this case, two factions arose among the Badagas, one admitting Badaga Christian members and the other remaining entirely Hindu.

181 Factions thus appear to be a deep-seated element in Badaga social organization. Some appear in only a single village, others in only one phratry, while several have divided the entire Badaga community.

Analysis of Findings: Some Comparisons

•121 One method of placing our findings into the perspective of socio-cultural change as an India-wide phenomenon is to compare these findings with those of other investigators. This is a necessary but perhaps not too satisfactory exercise, as so few studies are comparable with this one in their scope.

The most promising study for purposes of comparison is one done nearly a decade ago by T. Scarlett Epstein. Her detailed study of two villages in the Mandya region, some 70 miles north of the Nilgiris, shows how their economies and social systems have changed over the past 25 years (Epstein 1962). The span of her study is thus shorter than ours, but is still of sufficient length to document significant changes. The area is close enough to the Nilgiris to make the comparison particularly worth attempting. These two villages lie close to the ancient Badaga home-land, and as a consequence the cultures of the two areas still share much. On the other hand it is important to recognize that the Mandya villages are multi-caste settlements, whereas Badaga ones are not. The Mandya area is irrigated and grows sugar as well as rice; the Nilgiri area is not irrigated, grows neither rice nor sugar, but concentrates on producing tea, coffee and potatoes.

•121 According to Epstein's report, cultural and economic change came about during the period under study as a result of an initiative taken by what was thought of as an outside agent, the Government of Mysore, which spread the network of irrigation channels through the Mandya region in the early 1930's. The Kanarese agriculturists for the most part lost no time in reaping the advantages of this obvious improvement: everyone who could get his land irrigated tried to do so. As a result yields were not merely heavier. The building of a sugar processing plant in Mandya town encouraged a widespread shift in crops, from the grains and vegetables of the traditional subsistence economy to the more profitable sugar cane. And from this change others followed. More often now foodstuffs had to be purchased with cash. Different techniques of farming had to be adopted. New avenues of employment opened up in the town and the factory. What had been a subsistence economy for the most part prior to the irrigation now developed into a competitive cash economy. What had been traditional jajmani-type exchanges of goods and services between peasant land-owners and untouchable clients now became rationalized and -- as a result -- greatly attenuated.

On the face of it, this situation is quite different from that in the Nilgiris. There the cash crops which the Badagas have adopted, tea and coffee, were already being grown by other planters, mainly Europeans; potatoes too had been introduced by the British. Nobody offered the Badagas encouragement or inducements to start growing these crops; no factory gave them financial advances as the Mandya factory offered to its sugar growers. The essential similarity between the two areas lies in the fact that both have made the transition from a subsistence economy to a cash economy which necessitates the purchase of some foodstuffs and services.

A general effect of the irrigation of the Mandya region was a greater diver-

•121 sification of the rural economy. This was especially true in those villages where much of the land had to remain "dry" because it could not be reached by the irrigation system. The change to a cash crop integrated what had been relatively isolated villages into the regional economy; previously they had been more economically self-sufficient. The increased range of economic relations, Epstein claims (1962: 315), was associated with a diminution of traditional economic ties within one village: farmers thought it expedient to save capital by ceasing to give customary dues to their clients. This was not simply a matter of withholding what the clients were entitled to, however, for it released them from traditional obligations and allowed them to seek better employment in the regional economy. Of the two villages studied by Epstein, the irrigated one changed its internal economic relations less than the "dry" village did. Irrigation boosted production without very much altering the traditional economic differentiation that separated farmers and their clients. By comparison, the "dry" village was obliged to diversify its economy much more, and as a result its integration with the regional economy went much further; economic relationships within that village were altered very radically.

433 621 [121] Diversification of the economy has also occurred in Badaga hamlets during the last few decades. Indeed, the most affluent and tension-free hamlets today are the ones with the most diversified economies: tea, coffee, market vegetables, eucalyptus oil and poultry are all produced in certain hamlets, and ensure a steady income there even if one or two of the items are ruined by disease or weather in any particular year. At the same time we note that in the Nilgiris the economically 121 178 184 648 more "progressive" Badagas (a great majority of the community) have severed all or most of their ties with Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas, just as the more "progressive" farmers near Mandya have severed ties with their traditional clients and

121 specialists. The Nilgiri tea and coffee growers have become integrated into the
178 South Indian cash economy at the expense of such traditional relationships.
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618 The trend toward diversification of the economy in the "dry" village which
Epstein studied, and toward its greater integration with the regional economy, was
121 accompanied by changes of a political nature. Some villagers began to take part in
political meetings in the town, and to elect their panchayats rather than accept here-
ditary incumbents. The change was not paralleled in the irrigated village which
Epstein studied, however: there the traditional hereditary panchayats remained in
operation, and there was relatively little concern with state political movements.
The elected panchayat of the "dry" village does not settle disputes now: these are
generally taken to court in Mandya. The traditional panchayat does settle disputes
in the irrigated village, however.

632 Among Badagas, as we have seen, there are now elected panchayats which
act as the organs of local government in providing basic rural facilities. The tradi-
tional panchayats are more influential in the control of behavior and the organization
of festivities, however. Membership of the latter is sometimes hereditary and
sometimes "selected"; often a single council has members designated by both pro-
692 cesses. The magistrate's court is now widely used in settling disputes; but at the
same time the traditional council still has an important part to play in this activity.

121 Factions are not rigidly opposed in the irrigated village that Epstein stu-
died. She regards them as "a mechanism whereby economic status may be trans-
lated into political influence" (1962: 320). As such they have changed little in their
significance since the days before irrigation was available. In the "dry" village,
on the other hand, factions "display the basic cleavage between innovators and con-
servatives" (Epstein 1962: 320). In summary, "Economic change in [the "dry"

121 village] was followed by political change, whereas the persistence of [the irrigated village's] economic structure was responsible for the persistence of its political structure" (Epstein 1962: 320).

121 578 Factional organization has a different character in the villages of the Badagas, which are unlike those of the Mandya region in not being multi-caste. The economic differential has not been an important one between Badaga factions. Perhaps the only point of close similarity between the factions of the Badagas and of the Mandya area is that some Badaga factions do reflect a cleavage between innovators and conservatives.

121 178 (648) In the Kanarese villages ritual relationships between peasant farmers and their clients have been attenuated and in some cases dropped. This parallels the situation in the Nilgiris, where many Badagas have dropped their ritual ties with the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Other kinds of ritual change are not paralleled in the two areas, though: the Badagas have adopted a number of ritual observances from the Tamilians, whereas the Kanarese in the Mandya villages, although in contact with Tamilian immigrants, are not reported to have adopted any. Possibly the Tamilians living near Mandya are Untouchables; in the Nilgiris they are often Śudras or Brahmins, and as such their rituals command more respect.

121 Epstein argues (1962: 322) that the change from a subsistence to a cash economy led to the break-down of the joint family unit in the Mandya area. Fathers are now partitioning their land and giving portions for their adult sons to cultivate. The young men feel much more independence when their work is not under the control of a father or an elder brother. The situation has its parallels among the Badagas, and especially in those families where one or two sons work in the factory, the office, or in urban professions. In many instances the most successfully

121 affluent tea-growers maintain their estates as joint-family occupations: they need to pool the intellectual resources and urban contacts of all educated sons.

121 178 To summarize this comparison between the two studies, it is perhaps worth saying that the differences in the two areas are as important and wide-reaching as the similarities. Both economies have emerged in recent decades from subsistence agriculture and are now producing various goods and services for cash. But how the transition has been made, what forces have initiated it, what the present techniques and cash-products are, and what is the relationship between rural producers and urban agents and officials, are questions which find quite different answers in the two cases.

121 There is one other recent study of a changing economy that is detailed enough to allow a careful comparison with the Nilgiri case. It was made in Orissa by F.G. Bailey (1958), but as it concerns tribal people living in the Kondmal Hills, and passing from a subsistence to a cash economy, their situation is perhaps more similar to that of the Badagas than was that of the Mandya villages we have just discussed.

Bailey concentrates on the economy of a single village, Bisipara, situated in the hills and inhabited mainly by Oriyas. But his discussion covers social and economic changes over about a century in the entire district, and so involves a consideration of what part the tribal Konds have played there.

The Oriya villagers remain cultivators for the most part, but their contacts with the "outside world" have increased much over the past century. "Today the cloth that men and women wear in Bisipara might be woven in Bombay or Calcutta. Some of the hoes they use are made by the Tata enterprises. The shops sell paper which is manufactured in Bengal mills. Kerosene is distributed from the rail depot

(121) at Berhampur. Locks come from Aligarh..." (Bailey 1958: 229). The list continues; and it is one we might as readily draw up for any Badaga hamlet. Both in the (118) Kondmals and in the Nilgiris agriculturists now purchase goods which previously would have been made locally, or otherwise would not have been known. Both communities were "self-contained in the sense that all goods and services...could be supplied from the locality, by barter and not by money..." (Bailey 1958: 230). Bailey speaks of a "traders' frontier" as the process by which the cash economy first (177) reached the Oriya villages. The concept is equally applicable to the Badaga hamlets, although they were able to develop contacts with local towns and factories, whereas neither town nor factory existed in the Kondmal Hills. As government and trade pushed up into the Kondmals in the mid-19th Century, Oriya villages lay along the lines of communication, and Bisipara became a local center of administration. Oriyas thus became an important link between the Kond tribesmen and the agents of government and trade, especially as it was the Oriyas who spoke the language of (177) the plains whence the traders had come. Badagas probably fulfilled a similar role (618) in mediation between the British and the tribal peoples; but for them it was never an important or continuing role.

Beyond this point the parallel between the Nilgiris and the Kondmals is not so close. Today the Oriyas are still concerned largely with the subsistence crop of rice. Konds divide their labor between the rice-fields and the turmeric plots which they cultivate for cash. Changes have come to the Konds because they are involved in the cash economy; but their situation is different from that of the Badagas. Turmeric, like tea or potatoes, needs an altogether new agricultural technique. The Konds succeeded in learning this; but they did not become affluent to the degree that the Badagas have become: the returns from turmeric are too small.

121 Konds and Oriyas still produce a subsistence crop, rice, whereas the great majority of Badagas do not.

Bailey makes the point that it is not the cash crop, turmeric, but wind-fall profits from trading that have been responsible for the most significant of recent changes (1958: 239). "...the more spectacular sources of wealth in the new economy--the drink-trade, merchant-shopkeeping, and trading in hides--are concentrated in the hands of a few persons..." (Bailey 1958: 238). He goes on to say that, "The mercantile economy has impinged on the system of agriculture, because those who profited as merchants, traders and earners of salaries invested their money in land" (Bailey 1958: 239).

(178) If we compare this situation with the Nilgiris we will find that the most important cash crops, tea, coffee and potatoes, are undoubtedly much more responsible than "windfall profits" for change in the Badaga villages. Government planning (177) and urban, non-Badaga entrepreneurs have also played an important part. Also in contrast with the Kondmal Hills is the fact that few merchants--and these people are almost by definition immigrants from the plains--have been able to purchase land in Badaga hamlets.

The comparison between the Kondmals and the Nilgiris has, if anything, underlined our broad conclusions from comparing Badagas with Kanarese villagers: people in the Nilgiris, Mysore, Orissa, and indeed over much of India, have in recent decades made a transition from subsistence agriculture to fuller participation in a cash economy. Our comparison here shows that this kind of economic and social change takes many local forms, for it varies with the nature of the social organization, the means of earning cash, the role of the state government in local affairs, the ecological setting and the economic potentials of the community under study.

The Pattern of Change

21 The logic of socio-cultural change has a multi-causal type of linkage: that is, one single factor does not itself cause a new situation, but several separable factors -- cultural or environmental -- combine to cause varying patterns of a new situation. This has been the case in the Nilgiris, in rural Mysore, and in the Kond-mal Hills.

We may state the process in another way. When a community moves from the state of subsistence cultivation to one of rational participation (i.e. maximiza-tion of gains) in a cash economy, certain changes occur in the culture and in the social organization. These changes are a result of the interaction of local ecologi-cal conditions, outside governmental activity, the availability of certain goods, ser-vices and entrepreneurial personnel, and perhaps the play of "chance" factors or "historical accidents" about which it is difficult to generalize. Because the combi-nation of all these factors will vary from one region to another, the manner in which the economic transition takes place will also vary. This has been borne out in our comparison of three developing regions of India.

There are at the same time certain regularities to the processes of socio-cultural change. The case of the Badagas illustrates four ways in which traditional cultures are changing in the modern world. These four regularities have been noted in many different lands, and can be seen from our description of recent changes among the Badagas.

2 (1) First, towns and cities are undoubtedly the focal points of change, and there is a definite correlation between the nature of socio-cultural change and the closeness of the relationship between town and village. This is certainly true for

We may assume for
121 the moment that Lambert's findings relate only to Northern India; but they are nevertheless worth comparing with our findings in the Nilgiris.

Many of the studies cited by Lambert were village-centered ones. The villagers' social relations with towns or cities are typically those summarized by Opler (1956: 5-10): participation in national religious or political movements; pilgrimages to distant shrines; connections with the market town and its lawcourt, land records office, officials, and seed and farm-implement stores; and temporary out-migration for education. The other "extensions of an Indian village" (to use Opler's phrase) relate it to neighboring villages. Such connections also exist between Badaga hamlets and the Nilgiri towns; but at least in the Nilgiris (and, we might suspect, in much of rural Northern India as well) there are other kinds of connection with the towns that are far from negligible and yet receive no mention anywhere in Lambert's survey: I refer to the use of radio and the habit of seeing films. The impact of these media is not to be discounted; nor indeed is that of the newspaper, which Lambert dismisses with a single quotation from D.N. Majumdar: "Newspapers are not popular among the villagers, and even if they were supplied to them free of cost, they would not benefit them. One reason for [the] unpopularity of newspapers is the illiteracy of the villagers..." (Majumdar 1958: 296). This statement refers to a single village near Lucknow, U.P. The contrast between this situation and that of Badaga
(212) villagers is staggering. In a sample of 301 Badaga males from all educational levels (illiterate to M.Sc.), the following breakdown was obtained on their reading habits:

Illiterate (and/or blind)	17.9%
Read nothing	6.3
Read newspapers only	33.9
Read newspapers and periodicals	40.5
Read periodicals only	1.3

This, the same random sample cited elsewhere in the present study, suggests that some 75% of the male population has some personal acquaintance with printed news media; although the regularity of reading varies greatly. The women showed much lower frequencies of reading: in a random sample of 119 Badaga females 49.6% were illiterate, and another 22.7% claimed never to read anything.

There is no doubt that the Badagas are familiar with the urban-industrial values of modern India: they participate in all of the traditional village-urban connections described by Opler; and they also make use of the modern communications media to such an extent that a real impact has been felt by the younger Badagas and is reflected in their changed values and personal wants.

Lambert (1962: 123) agrees with Opler that there is a series of traditional links between the village and the town in North India; he does not mention the modern links that we have noted in the Nilgiris. It is undoubtedly true that many Indian villagers approach a big city with some trepidation, and carry to it -- even if they are settling there -- as much of their traditional family organization and religious values as is feasible. But it is not correct, at least in the case of the Nilgiris, to stress the cultural barries between villages and towns to the point where a negligible level of communications is implied: villagers can and do learn the directions of cultural change from the towns, and adopt some urban values and practices in their marketing, education, entertainment, transportation and financing. Communication between town and village in the Nilgiris has been an important element in the cultural changes of this century (even if the radio or newspaper has acted as intermediary in some instances). One reason why this is perhaps more true of the Nilgiris than of the parts of Northern India referred to by Lambert, is that the Nilgiri towns are not large. Ootacamund, with a population of 50,140 (in 1961), is still small enough

21 for visiting villagers to meet many acquaintances when they go there. The Census of India, 1961 shows comparatively little difference between the occupational structure of urban areas and rural areas in the Nilgiris:

– Male Occupations in the Nilgiris, 1961

		Urban areas	Rural areas
I	Cultivating own or rented land	2.9%	13.8%
II	Agricultural laborer	2.2	7.3
III	Forestry or livestock	13.2	14.7
IV	Cottage industries	0.6	0.4
V	Manufacturing	5.8	2.1
VI	Construction	1.5	0.9
VII	Trade and business	5.5	1.4
VIII	Transport and communications	2.6	0.7
IX	Teaching and "professions"	20.0	15.6
X	Non-workers, students	45.7	43.1
		(N=94,546)	(N=119,287)

(Source — India 1962: 82-85, 132-35)

The profiles for occupations in urban and rural populations of the District (all communities, including Badagas) are seen to be strikingly similar, the main variation being in the agricultural sector. The occupational pattern of the rural population shows 35.8% of males in primary production (categories I-III), as compared with only 18.3% of the urban population.

The overall similarity in the two occupation profiles suggests that the urban setting is not too strange or complex for the Badaga villager to comprehend. Many 121 of the weekly visitors to the bazaar have some acquaintances who can be found there; and in their own hamlets there are perhaps a few ex-students or former petty officials who are quite familiar with the ways of townsfolk. It is no longer uncommon for a few villagers in all settlements within four or five miles of a town to go there every day for work and return home at night. The extensions of a Badaga village are more than those envisioned in Northern India by Cyăr (1956: 5-10), or for that

matter by Lambert (1962).

In another study by Lambert, this one of factory-workers in Poona (1963), he discusses the types of social change that accompany the "modernization" process. A comparable situation to that of these urban workers can already be seen in the "modernization" of the Badagas: Badagas are finding social mobility much easier and much more rapid than it was half a century ago; more complex divisions of labor are emerging with the appearance of labor contractors and college graduates among the ranks of the Badagas; people are becoming cognizant that their lot can be changed with effort as well as good luck. This last point can even be supported with some statistical evidence: in a sample of 420 Badagas (including 119 females), the following responses were given to the question, "Does success in life depend mainly on luck?" --.

Yes, mainly on luck	47.4%
Both on luck and hard work	4.3
No, only on hard work	46.4
No, only on God's will	0.2
(Not ascertained)	1.7

("Luck", or "good fortune", was thought to be the factor which caused uncontrollable circumstances to act in favor of the individual. The English word luck or lakku is sometimes used in Badagu speech.)

Females stressed luck much more than hard work (61.3% favored luck, 31.9% hard work), whereas males showed an opposite bias (41.9% favored luck, while 52.2% stressed hard work). It is thus true of the Badagas that about half of them recognize the value of hard work (perhaps helped along by luck) in making a success out of their lives. The concept of success is not a new preoccupation in their economic activities; the concept of depending primarily upon one's own effort for it probably is new, however.

S: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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• 121 In summary, the towns of the Nilgiris have been instrumental in inducing recent social and economic changes. Towns do act as focal points for the dissemination of "modern" ideas and values, which reach the villagers either through intermediary people or through the mass communication media. Such ideas and values are not always fully accepted by the community, but they are undoubtedly of great influence, especially upon the younger, more educated men.

(2) The second regularity to be discussed in this conclusion is that major shifts in the economic activity are generally followed by changes in the family organization. It is paradoxical that Lambert's study (1963) stresses how little change there has been in the family organization; because in the case of the Badagas the changes in family structure have already gone far. Lambert's data do not distinguish between nuclear and joint families, as ours do; but he does state that factory workers support households with a higher number of dependents (the mean was 5.2 members per worker's family) than was to be found in the general population of Poona (with a mean of 4.5 members) (Lambert 1963: 39). He postulates that the relatively high earning power of factory workers attracts related dependents to their homes, people who are not members of the nuclear family. This situation is probably confined to a factory-worker class in the context of a city; it is not reflected at all in the material available for the Badagas. These people illustrate a trend, seemingly widespread in developing countries, in which the younger, more educated and urbanized men often prefer to set up their own homes and live as a nuclear family, rather than stay with the traditional joint family. The Badagas themselves recognize this trend, and explain it in terms of the changed values that have come with educational and economic betterment. In a survey of 420 Badagas, I found that 50.1% were living in nuclear families (some lacking either a spouse or children); whereas

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178 592 for the same sample 22.4% were members of various types of joint family, and another 2.1% were in polygamous families. The joint family, be it noted, is the traditional and "ideal" type, but in all likelihood it has never been the only pattern. The sharing of differential profits is only a part of the problem that confronts a contemporary Badaga joint household where some adult members have high earning-power and other adults low. More important is the conflict of values, the difference between traditional Badaga attitudes and "modern", urban attitudes, that now separates parents from their more educated adult sons. The new occupations which have been taken up, primarily by the younger men, are thus related to distinct changes in Badaga family organization, as the Badagas themselves can readily explain.

• 121 (3) A third main regularity in economic change is that the introduction of cash crops and the use of money tend to break down the traditional cooperative work patterns in a rural economy like that of the Badagas. The phenomenon has been documented in many different parts of the world (cf. Foster 1962: 34-35), and was noted by Epstein in the "dry" village of southern Mysore. We have already taken notice of this point above (pp. 134-35): the Badagas have dropped their former ties with Kotas and other associates, as a part of their adaptation to conditions in the cash economy. But what have the Kotas done in response? As Badaga farmers now need hired labor, it might be expected that Kotas would have hired themselves out for cash; but this has not been the case. Kotas own sufficient land to grow most of their food requirements; indeed, they were never entirely dependent on grain given them by the Badagas. Some Kota craftsmen have modified the traditional relationship with Badagas to a point where they still deal with the Badaga hamlets that they have always been associated with, but now services must immediately be paid for in cash. Badagas no longer grow the millets that they used to give to the Kotas;

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178 their food grain is now purchased paddy rice. If the Badagas were to give this to
648 Kotas, much additional work would be involved now: the Badaga would have to get the grain from the town bazaar to his hamlet, and then the Kota would have to carry it from there to his hamlet. This fact, coupled with the greatly increased monetary value of the traditional doles of grain, prompted the switch to cash dealings between Kotas and those Badagas who still accept their products and services (Mandelbaum 1955: 240). The Kotas, like their Badaga neighbors, have now made the transition to a cash economy; and those who are able to do so are planting potato or tea crops. Many Kotas today are not interested in keeping up these traditional economic ties with Badagas when they can be making much greater profit by devoting their time and energies to tea or potatoes. A sample of 34 male Kotas from six villages all recorded cultivation as their occupation. Several of this sample also worked as blacksmiths, toy-makers, potters or carpenters. It is clear that the Kotas have recently been able to "do without" their former economic ties with the Badagas. The factional dispute which, 35 years ago, separated a majority of the Badagas from their Kota exchange-partners, signalled the conclusive adaptation of both communities to the monetary economy.

•121 (4) Factionalism is important in economic change, it would seem. The fourth regularity to be discussed in this conclusion is that rapid acculturation often leads to heightened village factionalism. J. B. Adams has described the effect of the social changes triggered by Neguib and Nasser on a particular Egyptian village: two factions emerged, one supporting the revolution and the other seeking to maintain the traditional values of the fellahin (Adams 1957: 225). This example parallels a widespread dispute among Badagas.

578 It is difficult to say whether Badaga factionalism has actually increased during the period of increased cultural change that we have been examining. Records from the early 19th Century are too scanty to make any mention of whether disputes occurred at that time. To judge from what we do know about the history of the Badagas, however, it seems true to say that while only two factional divisions occurred during the 19th Century, dozens have developed during the present century. The most widespread of all disputes is the one between conservatives favoring the continued use of Kota music and services and supporting Haruva superiority, and "progressives" who want Badaga life to resemble more closely that of the Tamilian castes, but who will not permit Haruvas to assume the status of Brahmins. The common tussle between conservatives and progressives in many acculturation situations is thus embodied in this particular dispute.

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The dispute, nevertheless, is not over a simple choice between the past and the future. Each party in it sees the central issues in widely differing ways. For Haruvas the dispute is essentially over establishing their presumed Brahminic status; for Gaudas it is generally seen as being concerned with whether the Badagas should become more like Tamilian castes; for Kotas it is most often seen as a question of the Kotas getting what was their previously unquestioned right (Mandelbaum 1955: 235, 238; Mandelbaum 1960: 274-75).

121 These variant views prompt us to take a wider approach to the whole question of Badaga factionalism. The disputes which have concerned large numbers of villages can be thought of as raising questions about which models of Indian society the Badagas should follow as they take their place in the national economy and the national society. The Haruvas have long adopted the Brahminic model: they act as priests, they wear a thread, and maintain a vegetarian diet; they have an origin

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6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
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ABSTRACT

The Nilgiri District, east of Calicut, India, is dominated by a higher than 6,000-foot massif commonly called the Nilgiris. The northwestern section of the District extends onto the lower Mysore Plateau and the northern section lies in the Mysore Ditch, a broad valley. This study is a survey of how five ethnic groups, the Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, have interacted with neighbors and utilized landscapes within the Nilgiri District. The historical perspective is employed throughout.

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The study is based upon an occupance concept in which men are treated as 1) makers of cultural products termed occupance forms, 2) landscape utilizers who alter landscapes to varying degrees, 3) generators of inter-human economic activities, and 4) employees in economies generated by outsiders to their own small cultures. The outstanding characteristics of resultant dynamic cultural complexes, termed occupance patterns, are described. Because dwellings and temples proved to be particularly useful cultural indicators, they were classified according to exterior characteristics and the functional arrangements of their interiors. It also became necessary to employ an agricultural classification system with the three divisions of dry fields, wet fields, and gardens.

Todas living mainly on the northwestern upper Nilgiris are differentiated from the other ethnic groups by their barrel-vaulted,

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6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

[121] Little was known of the people inhabiting the Nilgiri District, southern India, until Francis Buchanan visited the District in 1800. Since that time, five ethnic groups have been mentioned repeatedly in the writings of other visitors to the District. Using the interrelated criteria of occupance patterns, occupance forms, and economies, this study surveys and analyzes the cultural contrasts and similarities exhibited by the five groups. Because significant changes have occurred since 1800, the historical perspective is applied to the three criteria whenever possible. A study in depth, by its very nature, contributes to an understanding of factors causing cultural contrasts and similarities among the five ethnic groups in the early 1800s, and of factors leading to changes since then.

1. The Study Region and Five Ethnic Groups

[131] [101] [631] The study region. The Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, who form the main subjects of this study, live within the Nilgiri District of Madras State. The District lies approximately west-southwest from Madras city, the capital of Madras State, and is less than 50 miles east of Calicut, the southern Indian port reached by Vasco da Gama in 1498 (Figure 1). [131] [133] The Nilgiri massif, with several peaks higher than 8,000 feet, dominates much of the District. However, a part of the District extends over the Wynaad Plateau to

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Irulas, are not covered in this study. Australic-Caucasoid Kotas speak a Kannada-Tamil language called Kota, worship their own female and male deities (Ammor and Aynor), and are treated as lowly non-caste people by their neighbors.[3] The low ranking of the agricultural Kotas is due largely to their artisan activities, performance of services, and the fact that Kotas once formed the only Nilgiri ethnic group whose members ate beef and carrion. Kotas occupy six hamlets on the Nilgiri massif and another hamlet in the Nilgiri Wynaad (Figure 2). Caucasic-Australoid Kurumbas (Plate VIII, A) speak a Tamil dialect, worship the male Herugudian and female Hesanie, and are socially ranked low because they are artisans, musicians, and doctor-sorcerers. Most Kurumbas occupy southern Nilgiri slopes. Australoid-Caucasoid Todas (Plate I, A) speak a Kannada-Tamil language called Toda, worship their own female and male deities (male On and female Teikirzi are the most important), and rank high in caste because they are vegetarians, whereas the members of all other ethnic groups eat mutton (Rivers 1906: 182-183). Todas mainly occupy western upper Nilgiri temperate grasslands in the Mallanaud, but some of them inhabit temperate grasslands elsewhere (Figures 1 and 2).

There are similarities and variations in the economies of the ethnic groups. In the following outline of economic activities, ethnic groups with similar economies are discussed together. The sequence thus runs from the Todas to Irulas and Kurumbas, to Badagas and Kotas on the upper Nilgiris, to Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad.

Todas herd only buffaloes and live in scattered hamlets where milk from secular buffaloes is processed in huts. The milk from their

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basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, hide curers, potters, and musicians. Badagas worked as laborers when Englishmen started living on the Nilgiris, but have increasingly obtained clerical and professional employment. Badagas and Kotas use seasonal livestock centers to graze herds of buffaloes and cattle on the temperate grasslands. The Badagas have established a sacred buffalo herd and dairy-temple at Bergani (Figure 1). Through the cooperation of employed Kasuvas, they also manage to keep buffaloes and cattle in the Mysore Ditch (Figure 2).

Excluding some Badagas dwelling in dispersed houses, Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad occupy hamlets. Both depend upon rice grown in wet fields. There are assorted gardens near their houses, and the Badagas grow millets on upland dry fields. As on the upper Nilgiris, Kotas are differentiated from the Badagas by their trades. Some Badagas labor on nearby plantations.

2. The Philosophic Base

The premise. The interpretive approach employed in following chapters is based on the premise that members of a small culture who occupy a similar environment will repeatedly adjust and utilize the landscape in a set pattern, or in set patterns, conforming to their needs and technological capacities. Because the members are conformists, they build similar occupance forms, arrange the forms in the same fashion, and use the landscape about their dwellings according to the economy related to their culture. Adjustments to environments by members of many small cultures, therefore, result in typically

associated occupance patterns, occupance forms, and economic activities. These three criteria are focused upon in this study.

Definitions of terms. To avoid misunderstanding, it is important to understand clearly frequently used and essential terms. These are now defined:

An occupance pattern is a dynamic cultural complex which may be noticeably impressed on the landscape by a patterned combination of man-made occupance forms and landscape changes resulting mainly from economic activities. Upon occasion, however, a landscape remains so unaltered by economic activities, that knowledge of these activities must be gained before an associated occupance pattern may be outlined. But regardless of landscape changes, or lack of them, any occupance pattern is better envisioned through the apprehension of its related occupance forms and economy.

An occupance site inhabited by men is the nucleus of an occupance pattern. As such, it matters whether the site is occupied for several days, several months, several years, or permanently. Men occupying a site build occupance forms and are exploitive agents using the adjacent landscape. Because of this, an occupance site may generally be considered as the starting place for interpretation of an occupance pattern.

Associated centers are uninhabited, ritualistically important centers which may be near to, or far from, occupance sites. Each center usually contains at least one occupance form. Centers are classified as burial, cremation, memorial, or worship centers, or as

•121 centers with combinations of these functions.

All occupance forms, as man-made structures, are clearly cultural products. Examples of occupance forms are houses, temples, calf-huts, buffalo-pens, and constructed paths. A path resulting from men walking repeatedly between two points is not considered an occupance form, but merely an alteration of the landscape. Fields, which are not occupance forms, are ideal examples of areas altered by economic activities. If fields are terraced, however, their constructed banks must be classified as occupance forms. One might argue that any terrace level, which may even be formed of earth carried long distances by man, is also an occupance form. In response to this argument I would reply that the earth on the terrace level remains nature's earth, despite being altered by man's activities. If terraced fields were left untouched by man for a thousand years, remnant banks would still be classified as man-made features. But terrace levels covered with wild vegetation and rejuvenated soils would provide proof that man, after constructing banks, provided levels upon which natural processes could dominate.

Occupance types are occupance forms which are culturally diagnostic. When, for example, a house's architectural style and interior functional arrangement of features are copied repeatedly, the house is classified as an occupance type. It may more simply be called a house type.

Economic activities generated by the members of a small culture who inhabit an occupance site and alter the landscape may be classified as 1) those which alter the surrounding landscape to the greatest

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121 degree, 2) others which alter the landscape to either a lesser or a negligible degree, and 3) trades and services yielding income from other members and outsiders. The inhabitants of the occupance site may also find employment in economies generated by outsiders who are not members of their own small culture.

While occupance forms are best described in terms of their structure and the functional relationships of their parts, the relationships of economies to altered or unaltered landscapes, or to human interactions, are best described in terms of economic activities. These two descriptive approaches are utilized in this study.

Six descriptive steps. Because members of the five Nilgiri ethnic groups are constantly affected by natural phenomena, the next chapter, Chapter II, is devoted to a discussion of these phenomena. The remainder of the study covers cultural phenomena. Excepting some Kurumbas who apparently moved periodically in the past, and a few Badagas, Kotas, and Todas who still practice transhumance, members of the five groups are permanently settled. Economies associated with the groups have led to varying landscape changes. Therefore, description of cultural phenomena pertains mainly to settled men who have changed landscapes.

These six steps aid description of the cultural phenomena related to each Nilgiri ethnic group forming a small culture undergoing change: In step one the general characteristics of the occupance pattern, or patterns, associated with a particular group are outlined. Step two involves the description of occupance types

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121 presence of European and Indian outsiders led to significant changes. This study attempts, through a running commentary, to record changes occurring since 1800. Reference is made to cultural traits which are new, or which are atypical in the sense that their association with one or more Nilgiri ethnic groups have not gained wide acceptance. If enough time has passed and introduced cultural traits are universally accepted, available historic data pertaining to their introduction and acceptance are considered. In an effort to reconstruct abandoned occupance forms and past economic activities, some of which belong to the pre-1800 period and are theoretical, art motifs, a folk story, old photographs, and rituals have been used.

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NOTES

161 [1]The word Badaga, which means Northerner, is generally applied to six castes forming a Saivite caste complex which is associated with past migrations of people from Mysore. The Adiakari, Badaga, Harvar, Kannikar, Lingayat, and Thoraiya caste members speak Badagu and are so classified in each census. It is thus impossible to know the exact number of people in each caste. As only the members of the largest caste, the Badaga caste, are referred to in this study, their numbers must be estimated.

121 144 [2]Following the classificatory system established by Garn, the writer considers each Nilgiri ethnic group as a micro-race (Garn 1961: 13, 122, 129). The micro-races persist because of 1) immigration of a group's ancestors within a period apart from each period in which ancestors of another group arrived and 2) persisting cultural barriers. However, due to limited gene-crossing, it must be remembered that each group has members who racially blend with members of the other groups. Using Coon's recent classification of world races, an attempt is made to broadly classify members of the five ethnic groups by arranging them in a spectrum ranging from the Caucasoid Badagas to the Caucasic-Australoid Kurumbas (Coon 1965: 194-196, 198-201).

000 [3]Languages are labeled according to Emeneau's classification of South Dravidian languages (Emeneau 1964: 1-13).

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CHAPTER II

THE PHYSICAL BASE

133 The Nilgiris, which are geologically related to adjoining regions, form the largest and generally highest southern Indian massif. Resultant orographic influences lead to considerable variation in climate, soils, and vegetation from Malabar plains to the Central 121 Plain. Because the Nilgiris thus form but a part of a physical con- 128 tinuum, their relationships to adjacent regions are outlined in this chapter under the headings of geology and physiography, climate, soils, and vegetation.

1. Geology and Physiography

133 Excepting recent sedimentaries along coastal Malabar, the Nilgiris and adjacent regions are dominated by Precambrian Archaean rocks ranging in age from earliest Dharwars to later granites (Hayden and Hatch 1904: 10-18, Plate IV; Krishnan 1954: 175-177; Krishnan 1958a: 61; Krishnan 1958b: 72; Muthuswami 1930: 86-87; Iyer 1929: 121-123, 133-134; Pascoe 1950, 1:35-36; Thiagarajan 1962: 306-307). The Nilgiri massif and other massifs in extreme southern and eastern peninsular India are largely composed of Charnockitic intrusions (Figure 3). Rocks of the Charnockite Suite are associated with charnockite, a peculiar hypersthene quartz felspar rock.[1] In the Nilgiri and other regions steeply dipping charnockite and related

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[1]Holland (1900: 142, 151, 156, 166) considered Charnockites to be a suite of igneous intrusives ranging from acid to intermediate to ultrabasic and associated commonly with a particular hypersthenic rock he named charnockite. Subramaniam (1959: 326, 328-329, 345) defined charnockite "as a hypersthene quartz felspar rock with or without garnet, characterized by greenish flue felspar, and greyish blue quartz, the dominant felspar being a microperthite." The same writer applied the term Charnockite Suite to only the rocks in Holland's acid division, which consist of alaskite, charnockite, enderbrite, and quartzsyenite. Holland's intermediate division is considered a hybrid produced by mixing of pyroxene granulites with Charnockitic magma, while the basic division is a modified basement rock and the ultra-basic division, a syntectonic lens. Charnockites mentioned in this work belong to the larger rock suite.

[2]Climatic data came from these sources: Francis 1915: 16; Indian Meteorological Department 1953: 345-346, 359-360, 421-422; Logan 1887, 2: ccxxxi; Nicholson 1887: 556-567.

[3]Cf. Mohr and Van Baren 1954: 356-357, "It is also reasonable to presume that many of the red loams of today will be the lateritic cuirasses [ferruginous and aluminous laterites] of a million years from now."

[4]Cf. Birch 1838: 94, "The laterite is the most valuable, as it can occasionally be used for building, when it is superficial, as then it can be wrought with little trouble when newly exposed." Ouchterlony 1848: 3, "A bed of this rock occurs near Kaitee sufficiently indurated to be fit for quarrying for building purposes—but no use is made of it by settlers owing to it being more costly than bricks." In 1963 the writer found some vermicular laterite on a wall at Kookthiemad, in the Kundah Range.

[5]Classification of vegetational associations is based on the following sources: Agrawal 1961a: 94-100; Agrawal 1961b: 309-315; Agrawal et al. 1961: 376-389; Grigg et al. 1880: 99-103; Champion 1935; Chandrasekharan 1962: 660-674, 731-747, 837-848; Fisher 1921: 8-13; Kadambi 1950: 18-30, 69-82; Shankarnarayan 1958: 90-98; Shankarnarayan 1959: 14-18.

In order to standardize species classification, these works were consulted: Blatter 1926; Bor 1954; Bor 1960; Fyson 1932, 1, 2; Gamble 1896; Hooker 1875-97, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER III

PASTORALISTS AND GRASSLANDS

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The occupance patterns described in this chapter are related to Toda, Badaga, Badaga-Kasuva, and Kota pastoralism associated with temperate grassland, tropical savanna, or subtropical savanna formation. Todas, who herd only buffaloes, established hamlets, dairy-temple centers, and cremation centers on the temperate upper Nilgiris. They also started transhumance in which buffaloes are moved westward in the dry season and eastward before westerly monsoon rains start. Distinctive Toda dwellings and temples, forming types, are indicators of an ancient culture. Ancestral Todas may have domesticated buffaloes in the distant past. Clarified butter production in dwellings and dairy-temples has long been their essential economic activity. Continued acculturation in this century has resulted in some Todas turning to cash income through milk sales and agriculture.

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According to folklore, ancestral Badagas came to the Nilgiris after fleeing persecution from Moslems in Mysore. Several migrations may have occurred after approximately 1200 A.D. On the upper Nilgiris the enterprising Badagas, who are the leading agriculturists, apparently learned to exploit temperate grasslands by borrowing ideas from Todas. The Bergani dairy-temple center, sacred buffalo herd, and ritual to ensure Badaga prosperity may be somewhat equated with Toda dairy-temple centers, sacred buffaloes, and ritual to ensure Toda

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prosperity. Badagas also turned to horizontal transhumance motivated by seasonal variations in rainfall. Their temporarily used western livestock centers are called hundis. In the Mysore Ditch, north of the Nilgiri massif (Figures 1 and 2), the Badagas found another exploitable niche. Badaga livestock kept there all year are cared for by Kasuvas. Livestock centers with house types occupied by Kasuvas are related to the symbiotic Badaga-Kasuva relationship. Although agricultural Kotas may have inhabited the upper Nilgiris for over a millennium, only a few residents from Kirgoj graze buffaloes out of temporarily inhabited livestock centers on the temperate grasslands.

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The following steps guide narration in this and later chapters: Generalized outlines of occupance patterns (equated with varying ways in which men have occupied landscapes) are followed by data relating to distinctive dwellings and sacred structures (occupance forms) labeled types. Discussion then shifts to economic activities altering landscapes around occupance sites to the greatest degree. Other economic activities altering landscapes to either a lesser or negligible degree are then discussed. Discourse turns to trades and services generated by members of the group under consideration and leading to economic intercourse with outsiders. Lastly, employment in economies generated by outsiders is considered. If a step is not applicable, it is omitted. In the case of Badaga, Badaga-Kasuva, and Kota occupance patterns described in this chapter, narration does not move beyond economic activities altering landscapes to a marked degree.

Because Nilgiri pastoralists have played such a vital role in

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changing landscapes, this chapter closes with some comments on temperate grasslands, future grassland-shola ecology, and the tropical savannas.

1. The Todas

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Occupance patterns. Both Keys (1812: xlvii) and Ward (1821: lxi) identified Todas as buffalo herders living mainly in the Mallansud, a tract covered by grassland and shola (remnant forest) in the western upper Nilgiris. Most of their hamlets are now scattered around two adjacent peaks (Anaikal and a higher 8002 foot peak) in the Mallansud, but some are located elsewhere (Figures 1 and 2). In the past, Todas occupied more extensive tracts. In 1843, after the English had established control of the Nilgiris, Todas were granted absolute but taxable occupational rights to their hamlets and certain grassland acreages nearby. The allotments were increased in 1863, but hamlet abandonment has taken place despite grazing land guarantees (Breeks 1873: 11-12; Francis 1908: 272). A major reason for this is that non-allocated grassland grazed by Toda buffaloes has areally diminished. Decreases in grassland acreages are due in part to reforestation projects, but many grassy areas were inundated by large reservoirs, and other tracts have been utilized for agriculture or settlement by non-Todas. Todas themselves have also changed enough to desire occupational sites nearer roads or urban centers (mainly Ootacamund), so have tended to abandon less accessible western hamlets for this reason.[1] Abandoned hamlets and accompanying grassy acres have been reappropriated by the Madras Government, and then distributed

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137 firewood-producing tree, or as an easily managed hedge plant. Weeping cypress (C. funebris Endl.) grows in St. Stephen's churchyard and elsewhere. Blue gum (Eucalyptus globulus Labill.) is the most frequently planted eucalyptus species. Some blue gums, such as those growing on the eastern edge of the Botanical Gardens, are among the tallest trees in India.[10] Cinchona (Cinchona spp.) and tea (Camellia sinensis O. Ktze.) are grown on adjacent mountain slopes.

• 121 Future temperate grassland-shola ecology. If biotic disturbances ceased for several centuries, it is likely that sholas would slowly spread onto areas now covered by grasses. Since biotic disturbances are so abundant, sholas will probably diminish further in size. Most shola trees are economically useless when compared to fast-growing Australian species. Thus, in all likelihood the latter will be fostered to the general detriment of shola species. Because the human population on the Nilgiris is increasing, hunger for agricultural and pastoral lands tends to further shola destruction. One proof of this is offered by the Malayalee or Tamilian squatters who have been invading the Nilgiris and clearing sholas in places where they have settled. To prosecute such settlers generally requires long and costly litigation, so offenders are often left alone. The Madras Forest Department and individuals will plant acacias and eucalypti on abandoned agricultural or pastoral lands.

Whether or not shola species could spread into and eventually
137 overcome acacia and eucalyptus stands is debatable. The imported plants, which thrive under semi-arid conditions in Australia, grow in

137 the upper Nilgiris because of an annual dry season and the fact that they are planted on grasslands where conditions are less humid than in shola interiors. Less humid conditions tend to be continued in acacia and eucalyptus stands. Grassland soils are not conducive to shola growth, and soils under imported tree species tend to remain insuffi-
(130) ciently improved to support a shola association. Under eucalyptus trees erosion is sometimes so intense that soil conditions for shola
• 121 species are actually worsened. However, certain indigenous plant species may be able to successfully compete with imported trees. Through slow plant succession conditions below and above ground level may ultimately be bettered enough for a shola association to be favored over foreign trees.

137 Many shola species are extremely exacting in their growth requirements. For instance, outstanding requirements of many temperate evergreen species are soil and above-surface humidity conditions not met with on open grasslands. To provide these conditions alone, it would appear that a long, slow, uninterrupted succession of plants would have to live and die before a shola association could become established. Plants playing an important role in this succession would be the colonizing, fire-resistant rhododendrons, shrubs, and herbs now growing on the grasslands (Plate V, D). Fires and grazing animals now generally prevent the succession from taking place.

Tropical and subtropical savannas. The vegetative cover of savannas varies from dominating grasslands to dominating forests with grasses and shrubs between trees. Bamboos found in more humid areas

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CHAPTER V

BADAGAS AND KOTAS OF THE UPPER NILGIRIS

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Kotas may once have served as artisans to ancient Nilgiri members of the Megalithic Cult. Racial and linguistic evidence indicates that they were living on the Nilgiris before the Badagas arrived. Furthermore, Kotas maintain that Badagas ascended the Nilgiris after them and received aid from Kotas when they came. Thus, at first there may have been economic ties between lower ranked Kota agricultural artisans and pastoral Todas. After the Hindu and caste-affiliated Saivite Badagas settled on the Nilgiris, they probably exerted a steering effect on the development of caste-like relationships among the different Nilgiri ethnic groups.

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Although the five Nilgiri ethnic groups have remained culturally distinctive, each must have influenced the others to varying degrees through diffusion of ideas. As a probable result, members of all three upper Nilgiri groups and the Irulas live in nucleated communities, and Kurumbas and Wynaad Badagas tend to do so. To varying degrees, members of all five groups build their dwellings in rows. When the functional arrangement of features within Toda, Kota, and Badaga dwellings are compared, the similarities are too great to preclude exchange of ideas. Because of combined temperate environmental and similar cultural influences, Badaga and Kota occupance patterns were in many ways similar during the early 1800s. They practiced shifting slash-burn agriculture, used plows, subsisted on millets

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

121 Major variations in the occupance patterns, occupance forms, and economies associated with the five ethnic groups largely result from 1) the concepts of occupance brought to the Nilgiri District by ancestors, 2) the development there of different approaches to landscape utilization, and 3) the development of different economic activities between people in the five ethnic groups. Because of cultural similarities between neighboring agricultural ethnic groups, it is impossible to correlate cultural traits with concepts of occupance brought by the ancestors of a particular ethnic group. Among the pastoral Todas there are presently no proven correlations between cultural traits and concepts of occupance brought by ancestors. However, when the spectrum of Toda cultural traits is considered, it 000 strongly indicates the perpetuation of such concepts. By having an economy based on the herding of only buffaloes, the Todas are culturally differentiated from their neighbors. Their unique assemblage of barrel-vaulted and front-gabled dwellings, barrel-vaulted and conical dairy-temples, and barrel-vaulted funeral-temples, together with the Toda religious-economic system in which milk from sacred buffaloes is processed in different grades of dairy-temples, suggest the transmittance of cultural traits over a long time period.

121 By utilizing landscapes in different ways, the Badagas became

121 the most dynamic of the Nilgiri ethnic groups. In addition to establishing themselves as upper Nilgiri subsistence and small scale commercial agriculturists served by Thoraiyas, they exploited other ecological niches. Some seasonally herd livestock on western upper Nilgiri grasslands, others employ Kasuvas in the Mysore Ditch and there maintain permanent livestock centers, while some who reside in the Nilgiri Wynaad are wet rice cultivators--assisted in some instances by Paniyas. By contrast, the somewhat static Todas only utilize an ecological niche conducive to grassland formation and now live mainly on the northwestern upper Nilgiris. Through rearing secular and sacred buffaloes, they have concentrated on the perpetuation of their religious-economic system and sale of clarified butter produced in dwellings and dairy-temples.

Though there are resemblances between their communities and land utilization by upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas, the income derived from Kotas working as basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, and potters has caused this group to economically vary from the Badagas. A major difference between Irulas and Kurumbas is based on Kurumbas functioning as the traditional doctors and sorcerers of the Nilgiri District.

121 The main similarities between members of different ethnic groups have existed where people with similar economic activities occupied the same general environment. Likenesses are largely due to borrowing, but environmental influences must also have played a role. In the early 1800s the Irulas and Kurumbas ate garden produce and grain harvested from dry fields, but were forced to seasonally gather and hunt in order

121 to stay alive. In the same period the upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas lived mainly on produce from kitchen gardens and millets from dry fields, but were also alike in that they produced condiments and opium for barter or sale. Furthermore, their villages and even their houses were apparently similar. By following the practices of their neighbors, both Badagas and Kotas in the Nilgiri Wynaad turned to wet rice cultivation in valleys, dry field cultivation on adjacent slopes, and the maintenance of multilayer gardens.

On the upper Nilgiris a few similarities exist among members of different ethnic groups whose economic activities are not similar, but who occupy the same general environment. Thus, the functional arrangement of features within Badaga, Kota, and Toda dwellings are sufficiently alike to indicate the borrowing of ideas. Both the limited practice of horizontal transhumance by Badagas and Todas, and the Badaga dairy-temple center at Bergani, with accompanying herd of sacred buffaloes, indicate borrowing from Todas. A former Kota barrel-vaulted temple resembled a Toda barrel-vaulted structure. Eventually, certain ideas were borrowed and applied by members of all five ethnic groups. Thus, some members of all ethnic groups live in either hamlets or villages, and some live in side-gabled houses built next to each other.

121 177 The presence of English colonials from the early 1800s led to changes in the occupance patterns of the five Nilgiri ethnic groups. Through several laws and the Final Land Settlement of 1881-84, whereby people were forced into ownership of taxable acres, the English between 1874 and 1884 ended production of salable or barterable opium and poppy

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121 M seeds by Badagas and Kotas, greatly reduced gathering and hunting by Irulas and Kurumbas, and prohibited any type of shifting agriculture on land not owned by Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, and Kurumbas. As Englishmen established plantations, an ever increasing number of Badagas, Irulas, and Kurumbas sought employment on them. Introduced plants adopted by farmers led to some of the most significant changes. Upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas in this century abandoned plows and became commercial farmers producing potatoes and other "English" vegetables. Members of both ethnic groups also started growing coffee, tea, temperate berries and fruits, acacias, and eucalypti. The Irulas, Kurumbas, and Wynaad Badagas and Kotas planted introduced plants in their gardens. As to be expected, it was the Badagas who took the most advantage of new opportunities. Besides becoming the leading commercial farmers, they educated themselves more than members of other ethnic groups and are now employed in many outside positions not related to the plantation industry.

000 After English administrators departed in 1947, the Madras Government aided Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas. More substantial houses have been built for them. Roads have been constructed or improved to facilitate access to their communities. Attempts to rejuvenate Kota trades and to convert Todas into farmers have met with some success, but attempts to convert old Kurumba trades into money-making enterprises have failed.

121 M8 Finally, despite changes since 1800, survival of old ways is striking. This is illustrated by the following examples: Badaga houses are built with different materials now, but many apparently

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have the same general plan as houses built over a century ago. Though Irulas and Kurumbas were forced to end shifting slash-burn agriculture in the last century, they now shift cultivated plots on land they own. Kotas have lived in only seven villages for over a century. Kurumbas are still feared because of their supposed powers over the supernatural and thereby earn income. Toda occupance forms and their traditional economy persist after 100 years; Toda barrel-vaulted huts are outwardly identical to those constructed over 350 years ago.

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APPENDIX A

AGRICULTURAL CLASSIFICATION

• 121 Tamilians had established a three-part land classification system by 1400 A.D., but it is likely that this system was formulated long before that date. During the period of the Vijayanagan Kingdom, which flourished from 1336 to 1565 A.D. and included virtually all of lower southern India, "the most universal classification of land was after the Tamilian method of dividing it into nans'ey or wet land, puns'ey or dry land, and toppa or groves, orchards and woods" (Salatore 1934, 1: 167). Over Malabar, before and during the reigns of Moslem rulers in the 18th century, land was for tax purposes divided into the same three-fold system of wet fields, dry fields, and gardens as exists today. The typical wet field crop was rice grown in water. Dry field crops were of three types--puttada or modan, punam, and ellu. Puttada crops were cereals and pulses grown on permanent fields, punam crops were cereals and pulses grown on temporary field clearings within forests, and the ellu crop was gingelly (Sesamum indicum L.). In gardens, areca, coconut, pepper, and jack plants were most numerous (Logan 1887, 1: 608-610, 613, 627-701; Innes 1915: 215-221). Buchanan used the three-part system to provide an outstanding description of extreme southern Indian agriculture in 1800-01. As an aid to garden classification, he divided gardens into betel-leaf, coconut or mixed fruit tree, flower, and kitchen gardens (Buchanan 1870, 1: 57-76). The classificatory system used by Buchanan on his trip from Madras, through Malabar, Canara, Mysore State, and back to Madras was so much a part of Dravidian culture that use of any other system would have been a great inconvenience. The three-part system was so satisfactory for land taxation, that later English and Indian administrators made no real effort to institute a new system. The three main divisions forming the system, combined with lesser divisions in the Malabarian dry field crop and Buchanan's garden classifications, were utilized by the writer in establishing a more precise classificatory system for extreme southern Indian agriculture.

In using the system of agricultural classification which follows, one first determines if plants associated with and controlled by men form field crops or gardens. If they form field crops, their association with dry or wet fields is established. If plants form gardens, the plant complexes they make up may be classified according to three types of gardens. Known exceptions not conforming with the general pattern are then covered. Lastly, because garden plants grow in plantations or lesser gardens, the problem of differentiating plantations from other gardens is raised.

Field crops versus gardens. Field crops are grown over clearings, so natural vegetation covering small to large plots is first removed. In field preparation, top soil of an entire field is usually

• 121 worked over with hoes, hoe-forks, or plows. However, deep soil turnover through use of digging-forks or hoes is necessary for a few planted field crops such as potatoes or tapioca. Rice raised in water is grown where soil at depth has been mixed by repeated plowings in water-covered fields. Most plants grown in fields are annuals, and their seeds are often broadcast. Domesticated grasses form typical field crops. One crop may cover a field, but crop mixing is not unusual. Thus, barley or wheat are customarily sown separately, but amaranth, Italian millet, little millet, and mustard are frequently sown together. Most plants associated with field agriculture normally grow to heights of less than six feet. Field crops en masse receive different treatment at varying times. Therefore, there are set periods for preparing the soil, planting or sowing, weeding, and harvesting. After the harvest, earth is bared to the sun again.

If land is cleared for garden plants, they will soon cover over a clearing. Thus, well-developed gardens cover the earth well, and it is sometimes difficult to differentiate gardens from nearby forests. Actually, as gardens may blend into forests, transition zones rather than boundaries will then separate gardens from forests. Clearings are usually absent in gardens; those which exist are liable to be small and temporary. Continued growth of wild species among planted plants is sometimes permitted, or even encouraged. Men often allow and even aid spontaneous plant growth originating from chance sprouting of seeds or plant portions which have dropped to earth through gravity and wind, or with inadvertent aid from animals, birds, or men. Garden plants are commonly perennials associated with planting and vegetative propagation. Roots, root sections, and cuttings are planted individually in holes dug in the ground. If seeds are used for propagation, they are liable to be planted. However, seeds are occasionally sown. Dibbles, hoes, and knives are the main garden implements. Plants are commonly mixed, and the garden without peer has a hodgepodge of sun-loving, shade-requiring, and shade- or light-tolerant species. Plants growing above six feet are common and set gardens apart from fields. Species associated with field cultivation may be planted or sown in gardens, but if garden plants growing above six feet are planted in fields, the fields will be converted to gardens. Even sun-loving grains become garden plants when, for example, they are sown between bananas. Climbing creepers, fronds, shrubs, palms, or fruit trees are characteristic garden plants. Because agricultural produce in gardens may come from different levels above ground, the vertical dimension is at times important. As growth habits of garden plants vary greatly, care requirements also vary. In some gardens produce is yielded at different times and even all year around. Shade provided by gardens is cherished by humans benefitting from the shade, and when monsoon winds blow strongly, gardens shield inhabitants in their midst. Many people, therefore, construct their dwellings in the middle of gardens, or plant garden plants around their dwellings.

Dry fields versus wet fields. Dry fields may be permanent or periodically shifted, and are classified accordingly. Crops cultivated on dry fields depend upon rainfall and are raised in close association

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121 with easterly or westerly monsoon rains. Wet fields are almost invariably permanent. Crops raised on them are irrigated with water brought by canals and ditches running from streams, reservoirs, or wells. Besides being raised on dry and irrigated fields, rice is also cultivated on non-irrigated, leveled wet fields, where water from monsoon rains is retained behind dikes running around the edges of fields. Much of the wet rice grown in extreme southern India is raised on non-irrigated wet fields.

Three garden types. Because a small minority of gardens require irrigation, gardens are not divided into dry and wet gardens. Areca palms, in particular, need an abundance of water and are frequently irrigated. Cardamom, betel-leaf, and pepper plants may be grown alongside irrigated areca palms. Bananas and coconuts in drier eastern regions are also irrigated. It must, therefore, be remembered that some garden plants are irrigated.

Gardens are divided into the following three types: 1) those with sun-loving plants forming a single layer, 2) those with shaded plants forming a single layer, and 3) multilayer gardens with mixtures of sun-loving, shade-requiring, and shade- or light-tolerant plants. Unmixed areca, banana, coconut, mango, and rubber plantings are typical examples of the first type. Any one of the mentioned plants grown in either plantations or contiguous smaller gardens may cover large acreages. In Malabar, shaded betel-leaf or taro plants are grown within small gardens under shade provided by coconut gardens. Gardens with shaded plants forming a single layer may thus be located inside other gardens. Further examples of gardens with shaded plants forming a single layer are coffee and tea gardens. Coffee is shaded by natural trees left standing or a planted species such as albissia (Albissia chinensis Merr.), and tea is usually shaded by planted silver oaks. Multilayer gardens with sun-loving, shade-requiring, and shade- or light-tolerant plants are the commonest garden type, even though they do not cover the largest acreages. In an example of such a garden, with plants forming several approximated layers from the ground up, there may be mixed sweet potatoes, amaranths, edible cannas, giant taros, coffee shrubs, climbing yams, bananas, mandarin oranges, and jack trees. Although multilayer gardens yield food, plants producing pretty flowers are grown in them for aesthetic reasons and ritualistic purposes. Trees growing in all three types of gardens are sources of firewood and lumber (jack and mango lumber, for example).

Exceptions. As to be expected, exceptions not conforming with the outlined classificatory system occur. In temperate mountainous regions, fruit stands consisting mainly of peaches, pears, and plums are garden-like. However, in England and on Indian highlands where Englishmen lived such stands are called orchards. Cultural preference for a term causes its continued use. Acacias and eucalypti, also planted in temperate regions, are generally considered to form tree stands or forests. Existence of a few temperate acacia and tropical teak plantations poses a problem in classification, for plantations in

• 121 extreme southern India are associated with garden agriculture. As acacias grown on plantations for their bark tannin are nurtured more by men and form the basis of annual farm operations, such acacia stands are classified as gardens by the writer. On the other hand, because teak trees grow for a long period before harvesting and receive care normally bestowed upon trees in a well-managed forest, teak on plantations is considered to form timber stands. Sugarcane grown in multilayer gardens is also planted en masse on fields. Even though sugarcane then grows several feet higher than six feet, it is called a field crop. Because domesticated grasses form typical field crops and sugarcane is another domesticated grass, sugarcane forming a field crop cannot be considered so unusual. Flower and kitchen gardens, where bean, grain-like seed, root, and green vegetable producers may be raised, contain plants which do not grow above six feet. These gardens are perhaps best considered as field gardens resulting from crossing between garden and field agriculture. In the two garden types plant species are mixed or grown separately in small plots. Most plants are planted and a great deal of care is sometimes given them, especially by women from houses nearby. Kitchen gardens, in particular, may essentially be women's gardens. As in multilayer gardens, plant growth habits and care required by each species vary. Like field crops, plants are usually annuals, but species variation causes harvest periods to be somewhat different. Lastly, an adequate reason for classifying both types as gardens is that the agriculturists concerned consider them to be gardens and not fields.

Plantations versus lesser gardens. Extreme southern Indian plantations, which are commercial gardens, are largely the result of English capital investments on rural landscapes. So many Indians have taken to raising plantation plants, that the task of establishing criteria for separating plantations from smaller gardens is a difficult one. In the final analysis, field differentiation of certain borderline plantations from lesser gardens will depend upon detailed examination of available data and common sense. The following facts concerning plantations versus lesser gardens, obtained from the 1960 Planting Directory of Southern India, serve as a rough outline pertaining to plantation size range. The leading plantation company (Malayalam Plantations, Ltd.), with over 5,000,000 dollars invested capital, controlled 31 plantations with over 21,000 acres covered by tea and 19,000 acres by rubber. The largest single group of plantations (Kanan Devan Hills Produce Co., Ltd.) within one region (the High Range), having over 4,000,000 dollars invested capital, had a tea acreage of over 25,000 acres on 25 plantations, 21 tea factories, and a managerial staff exceeding 40 men. The largest plantations where the three main plants are grown had 2,751 acres of rubber, 1,650 acres of tea, and 862 acres of coffee respectively. Average acreages covered by gardens with the three plants on the 68 rubber plantations, 115 tea plantations in leading tea regions, and 119 coffee plantations in leading coffee regions were 961 acres, 697 acres, and 304 acres respectively. Assuming company plantations would have representative crop acreages found on efficiently run plantations, these acreages were used to obtain

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some idea of minimum plantation size. In the case of rubber and tea acreages, each company plantation also had to have a factory for processing agricultural produce. The same approach would have been used with coffee plantations, but data concerning coffee processing facilities was not given. On this basis, it is estimated that plantations may exist by the time rubber, tea, and coffee acreages reach 300, 200, and 100 acres respectively. At the other end of the spectrum, there are many small gardens. Thirty percent of cardamoms and 60 percent of coffee grown in the Madurai region grew in small gardens. In the central Travancore and Mundakayam region, despite the giant plantations, 59 percent of the rubber acreage was in small gardens. For the Nilgiris, 38 percent coffee and 17 percent tea acreages are similarly listed (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 1-417). Because acreages of many smaller gardens were not enumerated, actual percentages of land covered by non-plantation gardens exceed these figures.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

PAUL HOCKINGS

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Badaga Kinship Rules in Their Socio-Economic Context

Abstract. – *The Badagas, a large refugee millet-farming community on the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India, have a Dravidian kinship system. Their larger social units include several levels of lineage, clans, and phratries. While much discussion of Dravidian kinship focusses on rules, this paper concentrates on actual practices, looking especially at situations for which there are no established rules. Many of the rules that do exist are shown to be preferences rather than prescriptions, particularly those relating to the choice of a marriage partner: although the system is rigidly patrilineal, residence after marriage is not always patrilocal. The joint family is still widespread. Among the unusual features of Badaga society, generation levels are only identifiable among males. This, combined with the frequency of remarriage and the existence of polygyny, means that affines may be able to trace the kin relationship between them through several different "routes." Only the sons inherit property, but while they all get an equal share of the land, it is only the youngest who inherits the parental home. Uncle/niece marriage and other more anomalous possibilities are examined. The paper illustrates the workings of a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and explores the nature of marriage reciprocity between villages.* [India, Kinship, Marriage, Inheritance]

The Badagas are a refugee millet-farming community who live on the Nilgiri Massif of Southern India. They are not however the victims of any recent political repression, for their ancestors moved up into that mountain environment during the 16th and 17th centuries, following the Muslim invasions of Mysore which brought the Vijayanagar Empire to an end. Those

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who fled from that situation and settled on the hills as Badagas (i.e., "northerners") came mainly from the agricultural Okkaliga caste in the Mysore Plain. What their social organization may have been there is obscure and irrelevant. It seems that the small groups of refugees, torn from their caste affiliations, were so fragmented that the basic social unit among them as settlers was the joint family, not the *jati* or caste. It is still the ideal residential unit.

Today we find no castes in Badaga society. These people live in a tribal milieu, surrounded by the indigenous Toda, Kota, Kurumba, and Iruja tribes, and they have become fairly tribe-like themselves. The community is divided into ten phratries which are mainly endogamous. Two of these are vegetarian; all are primarily agricultural. Each phratry is made up of a number of exogamous clans, anything from two to sixteen of them, and these clans are in turn segmented into quite a few exogamous lineages. As with the famed Nigerian case of the Tallensi, there are actually lineages within lineages, so that we may need to speak about maximal (*kudumbu*), major (*kutti*), minor (*kutti*), and minimal (*guppu*) lineages, even though not every clan currently has all four levels of lineage. Segments of the minimal lineages are in fact extended families, counting back for about five generations, and with most of their members still alive.

These larger social units have a complicated history and organization (detailed in Hockings 1980), and they will not be considered further in this present study. It is nonetheless relevant to mention how they fit into the residence pattern. The Badagas live in about 370 exclusively Badaga villages which are normally exogamous. Marriage is virilocal. Each village is thus the home of one or more patrilineages all belonging to one clan (and hence, one phratry). But with few exceptions a clan is not confined to a single village.

One particular village, Tu:ne:ri, was the first place to be settled, in the late 16th century, as a result of which its headman became the paramount chief. This position, like all Badaga headmanships, has descended patrilineally within the family. Every other village has its own headman, descended from the founder, and clusters of neighbouring villages form a commune around one particular village whose headman is also acknowledged to be the commune headman. Furthermore, the whole of the plateau area has been divided into four quarters, and one man is recognized as the regional headman in each quarter. At every one of the four levels of headmanship there is also a council, made up of inferior headmen (except in the case of the village council, which consists of lineage elders who work with the traditional village headman).

The society is relatively homogeneous in the sense that, although the ten phratries are ranked into a widely accepted hierarchy, all families were traditionally subsistence farmers of millet and all lived by essentially the same kinship rules. We will therefore be able to explore the meaning of these rules without constant reference to exceptions and alternatives found only in certain sectors of the society.

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM30

1. Kinship Behaviour

It is not possible to present the Badaga kinship system here in such a way that it fully explains Badaga behaviour, even that sort which we anthropologists usually call kinship behaviour. Any actions occurring in the social setting of two or more persons who consider themselves to be "related" may well have motivations that lie in such spheres as the practice of agriculture, the accumulation of political power, the acquisition of wealth, or the display of education—as well as in so-called kinship obligations. One can thus argue that the presentation of a system of kinship terminology does very little in the way of explaining behaviour, even though it is concerned with the labelling of actors in a wide variety of interactional situations.[1]

We will be confining ourselves, in the following pages, to two interconnected facets of kinship: *(a)* the system of terminology by which Badagas identify certain others as sharing ancestors and responsibilities with them, i.e., "being related"; and *(b)* the manipulations of this system so as to arrange marriage, transfer ownership of land, and assign responsibility for performing life-cyle rituals amongst one's "relatives."

That familial interaction is not necessarily dominated by kinship obligations or guided by high ideals of behaviour may be illustrated at the outset by an example taken from my fieldnotes:

> Over twenty years ago a well-to-do landowner was in hospital for a relatively minor complaint, and after a few days was discharged as cured. He returned to the village where he lived with his several adult sons, and died that same night. The next morning his body was cremated in the usual manner. The likely facts behind this series of events, as seen by those close to the family, were these. The old man, who was blind, was a Hindu, but had felt gratitude towards the local Christians on a number of counts. In his last years he had given several small plots of his own land to Christians, which had irritated his sons immensely. In concert, therefore, they had taken advantage of his release from the hospital to poison him, and of course arranged for his cremation immediately afterwards. In short, they had placed maintenance of their patrimony very much ahead of the traditional loyalty to parents which is supposed to be a prime Badaga—and Hindu—value. Descent and residence were assured already; now the inheritance had to be secured.

Even if this example proved inaccurate in some details, it could be paralleled by similar stories from any number of villages. In each case we would find that while rules for intrafamilial conduct do exist, as one central part of the Badagas' cultural tradition, personal considerations of one sort or another will very often modify the behaviour in quite unpredictable ways. The distinction between rules, i.e., institutional norms, and practice, i.e., the behaviour of individuals, will be a theme running through much of this paper.

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[1] I am indebted to my students, Kathryn L. Cooper and Sayoko Morioka, for a preliminary analysis of my kinship data, and to Sylvia Vatuk for her critical comments.

121 The extensive analysis of Dravidian kinship over the past quarter of a century, especially at the hands of Dumont, Gough, Leach, and Yalman, has rarely been insistent on maintaining a distinction between rules and practices, and authors have tended to shift from one kind of data to the other whenever it suited their purpose, usually leaving the reader to assume that kinship practices are the rules in action. This may or may not be so in a particular case, but no identity between rules and practice should be presumed.

In Badaga kinship practice we certainly find that a great deal of accommodation of behaviour becomes necessary in daily life beyond the realm of kinship rules, since many of these have not been elaborated sufficiently to provide for all possible eventualities. Take, as an example, the ritual requirement that a daughter (and in fact her husband) must make a gift of one embroidered shawl at the funeral of each of her parents: that may be identified as a rule, one that can be stated by informants and is normally followed; but if there are several daughters, some married and others not, who presents that one shawl? Here we can find no rule to guide behaviour. In one instance that came to my attention, the several daughters were married to men of differential wealth, and they had to agree to split the costs of one shawl evenly between them. In this situation the poorest of the husbands would press for a lower contribution, and the wealthier husbands would have to agree to his figure and contribute the same amount themselves so as not to embarrass him; then they jointly got a cheap shawl.

In another case three brothers each had one wife. The eldest had three sons and no daughters, the second three daughters, and the youngest one daughter. This meant that there would be four married daughters available to present—with their husbands' financial support—six embroidered shawls at the six funerals expected at the parental level. But before any of these deaths occurred, one daughter was divorced. The husbands of the three daughters remaining married agreed that each would make himself responsible for the purchase of two shawls, and then they designated which two funerals each would contribute these to. Brothers sometimes "divide up" their living sisters in a similar way, each thereby making himself responsible for the ceremonial and other requirements of one, two or more sisters, whether these women are married or not. In all of these examples, which I cull from recorded occurrences, there are no specific rules to guide behaviour in every eventuality. What we find instead is a rational attempt to compromise where necessary and fulfill kinship obligations where possible. Family enmities, premature deaths, lack of interest, divorce, absence, or poverty may all enter into the modification not only of kinship rules but of agreed-upon arrangements such as we have just instanced. Egalitarianism between siblings of the same sex is certainly one guiding principle here, even if circumstances make it difficult or perhaps impossible to honour.

Many of the Badaga kinship "rules" are preferences rather than prescriptions. Take the "rule" of cross-cousin marriage, for example, which is typical of Dravidian kinship systems. In the Badaga case a youth may marry

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

(amongst others) either his FZD or his MBD, but there is a marked preference for a FZD and some good reasons for it.[3] One involves a feeling of status congruence. Men, it is believed, demean themselves somewhat by becoming bride-givers. This is acknowledged nowadays by the payment of dowry, a new custom among the Badagas. But a young man's spiritual guide is not the family priest in this community; instead it is always his MB, whom he calls *guru* and also accords much respect. It is thus incongruent if that particular man should give his daughter in marriage to the very boy he has counselled. Marriage with a FZD, or with the daughter of a MB other than one's *guru*, gets around this emotional problem.

Patrilocality is another preference that is usually spoken of as an unbending rule. Yet there is in point of fact a term, *aliya se:tu*, for the live-in son-in-law, a young man who opts to live with his wife's family after their marriage. This is considered an undignified and pitiful thing to do, but it can bring real material advantages to a man whose wife has no brothers, and is a necessary alternative to virilocal residence in such a family. The epic ballad *Ba:la Sevana* deals with a man who moves into his father-in-law's village to help with the buffaloes, leaving his own mother in her village lamenting the loss of her only son, and bemoaning her fate since "there will be nobody to set fire to her corpse." It is interesting to note that Ba:la Sevana married into the Kunda region, one that used to be so economically distressed that its children were often sold into bondage for a period of years, thereby becoming the household servants of Badagas in other parts of the Nilgiris. The live-in son-in-law was one institution that helped make up for the loss of male children in those bad years, when bondage was the only answer to the threat of starvation in that region.

2. Patriliny and Patrilocality

Today the Badagas are successful cash-crop farmers specialising in cabbages, potatoes, and tea; those of the Kunda region are the wealthiest in the District. Until the early part of this century, on the other hand, they were all mainly farmers of millet. This and several other grains, together with dairy produce, provided their subsistence. When one delves further back in their history, to the 17th and 18th centuries when they were already well established on the Nilgiri Hills but with a population of under 2,000, one finds that the Badagas were already millet farmers yet thought of themselves as primarily buffalo herdsmen. This is reflected very clearly in a number of their epic ballads dating from that time. Since each family or lineage used once to have its own herd of buffaloes, then it is legitimate for us to consider

[3] Letters placed in single apostrophes, 'A', 'B', 'C', etc.; stand for hypothetical people and are like personal names. Letters placed in double quotation marks, e.g. "M," "F," etc., indicate classificatory rather than actual kin relationships, and should be read as "in the category of mothers," and so on. Z = sister, S = son, etc.

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AW50 Badaga AW50

the kinship system in the Badaga case as having developed as a means of assigning and transferring ownership of and rights in property, especially cattle and houses, but to a lesser extent land too. We must remember that in the early days Badagas practised swidden agriculture (although strangely that is not mentioned in the early ballads), and the Nilgiri population density was so low that land really had no market value there and was very easy to come by.

Now, keeping a herd of buffaloes requires adequate grazing and certain other conditions. One is the presence of a number of active men, typically brothers, who will keep the herd together while grazing and fend off tigers when possible. Women could not do this work: the epic poem *Ba:la Sevana* ridicules the mother of the hero for trying to drive the family's herd out to graze with a stick in her hand. Both swidden and ordinary plough agriculture also called for the combined efforts of several men (as well as a number of women), and so here too Badagas found a good reason for cultivating their fields as a joint family. Many still do so today. The point to be noted is that both the buffalo-herding and ox-ploughing and swidden cultivation were economic conditions that favoured patrilocality, the joint family, and brother/sister exchange at marriage—this latter a preference which maintained a balance of manpower between two intermarrying families or settlements. If a youth married his FZD and her brother in turn married *his* MBD, brother/sister exchange would result, the ideal of cross-cousin marriage would be honoured, the two families involved would have asserted their equality, and close relations would ensue between them. Where brother/sister exchange has occurred, divorce becomes rather more difficult because it places great strains on the other couple, those who are not getting divorced.

The girls in this system invariably go off to another village in marriage at or shortly after menarche, where they will be needed to *(a)* do house-work and look after small children; *(b)* do some sowing, weeding and reaping in the fields; and *(c)* raise a new generation of farmers and buffalo herdsmen. In this married situation the birth of a son means that a woman has largely fulfilled all three of her obligations to the family she has joined—for on marriage a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family, lineage, and village, and joins those of her husband. Her membership in them is made especially manifest when her husband dies and a son continues to support her in her husband's village; and when she too dies it is her husband's village and its headman who are responsible for conducting her funeral, with the collaboration of her husband's family.

The economic decision-making rests with the adult men: when to sow, what to plant in each kind of soil, when and where to move the cattle in search of new grazing, when to harvest, and, in former times, when to move the swidden. These decisions call for accurate topographical knowledge, and it is thus both appropriate and necessary that the detailed local knowledge which boys acquire in work and play should be put to good use when they

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AMSC Badaga AM50

2) Parallel cousins. MZD could be Ego's half-Z if his father had married the MZ. FBD is included here but has also been mentioned under the previous heading.

3) Daughters of offspring and of siblings. A SD, ZD, DD, and WBD (who would be a ZD when brother/sister exchange occurred) are in this category.

4) Wives of other lineage males. FW and FBW, FFBW and FM are encompassed in this category. As already stated, these women become part of Ego's lineage once they marry into it.

The basic people Ego can marry (FZD, MBD, and WZ) are cross-cousins, ideally with brother/sister exchange linking two families.

Badagas see all of their phratry as either affine or agnate. As a woman is assimilated into her husband's lineage when she marries, she therefore becomes an agnate to the husband rather than remaining an affine. An affine could basically be described then as a potential wife or potential wife-giver.

8. Marriage Possibilities: Some Interesting Anomalies

Owing to the fact that the ideal marriage partner—actual FZD or MBD—is not always available, certain unusual marriage possibilities have been noted among the Badagas. In the following section I will examine them, using hypothetical examples presented by my informants.

The first thing to understand in Diagram 9 is that although 'Y' is of an earlier generation than Ego (seemingly his great-grandmother), she should be of younger age than Ego. Ego's mother was not in 'X's' lineage after her marriage, thus her father 'X' and *his* father would be of a wife-giving lineage and the marriage would then be unusual but still permissible.

Diagram 9

I have combined two other cases (Diagrams 10 and 11) because basically they are the same: a man is marrying his father's second wife's sister. Although this would put the bride in a classificatory "M" role, the marriage would be permissible for the following reasons (I will use Diagram 10 to illustrate): Ego's father's second wife was not in Ego's lineage before her marriage, thus her parents would not be in Ego's lineage. It is assumed that Ego's father's second wife's father's second wife ("MM") was not a member of Ego's lineage before marriage but was a member of a third lineage. Thus, as long as the daughter of this woman in no way fits into a category of

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Siva image—tied round their necks. They claim to be superior to all the Baḍagas and are regarded as such. They are priests to all the Baḍagas of the Liṅgâyat class and are strict vegetarians. They do not intermarry with any of the other high-caste Baḍaga sects. Uḍaya was and is the title assumed by the Maisûr Râjas, and those Baḍagas by being thus designated as a caste, claim superior blood in their veins.

Next in rank come the Hâruvas. From their name being so closely connected with the *Âryas*—the respectable—and from their habit of wearing the Brahmanical thread, we are warranted in believing that they must have been originally the poor Brâhman priests of the Baḍagas that migrated to this country, though they have now got themselves closely mingled with the Baḍagas, as is always the lot of an unfortunate few in the midst of many. These Hâruvas also are strict vegetarians, and act as priests. Hâruvas originally did not intermarry with other Baḍaga sects, though now there is a good deal of laxity in the observance of this rule.

The Uḍayas and Hâruvas and, to a certain extent, the Adhikâris also, are vegetarians. The other two high castes, and of course the low-caste Torayas also, have no objection of any kind to eating flesh. It is also said that the vegetarian Adhikâri, if he marries into a flesh-eating caste of the Baḍagas, betakes himself to this latter diet very readily.

The Torayas are the last in the list and they are regarded as sons and servants to the five high-caste Baḍaga sects—to the Hâruvas especially. We shall as we proceed have occasion to notice the several services which a Toraya has to render to the Baḍagas. This last sect is the lowest in the scale and they are prohibited from intermarrying with the other or high-caste Baḍagas, as long as they are sons to them. They are, as we have already remarked, flesh-eaters. The Uḍayas, Adhikâris, and Kaṇakas are Liṅgâyats in religion and the other three—the Hâruvas, Baḍagas and Torayas are Saivites.

121 Having thus spoken about their caste divisions we shall next turn our attention to their physical appearance, their character, and their manner of life. The Baḍagas are as a rule slightly 142 built people. The hard weather and the severe climate with which they had to struggle ten generations ago, during their first settlement, joined to the fear of having little to eat, have left well marked traces in their physique. They are labourers from their youth to their death, for, as they settled down as agriculturists, labour [illegible]

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342 roof of it is wall planked, and over it is another small room called *Mêlâḍu*—upper storey—which serves as a store-house. Next to the *Edirmanê*, on the right, is the *Hâgôṭu*—the milk house—a place of worship to the Baḍagas, into which the women are not allowed to enter; and adjoining it is the kitchen, called *Hole* by the Baḍagas; the last of all the rooms is the *Pillê*—bath-room. Thus the front room, a store-room over it, the milk-house, a kitchen and a bath-room complete the arrangement of a Baḍaga house.

352 The Baḍaga invests some money in that most necessary piece of furniture in a cold climate,—a family cot to sleep upon. It is always a broad thick plank of some fine wood—teak, jack or ebony, and is the only substantial movable property of a Baḍaga.

• 121 We shall now describe the Baḍaga ceremonies and rites, and the best way to exhaust them is to trace an individual from the time of his birth to his death. Of course some difference must exist in the case of males and females, and these we shall note as we proceed.

852 In the case of a boy little or almost nothing is done to the child
[551] as a ceremony till his ninth year. On the third month after his birth he is given a name, and his head is shaved. But nothing further occurs till the baby has grown into a boy of nine years. Then
881 the initiation of the boy into the duties of a Baḍaga—milking the buffaloes—is performed. In describing the Baḍaga house I have already made mention of the *Hâgôṭu*—the milk house—a place of
[547] worship in which the milk is stored up. Females are debarred
[858] from entrance into it, and so are the male children till they undergo this ceremony, which we are about to describe.

Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony the boy is bathed and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo with her calf stands before his house waiting to be milked. The parents or other elder relations of the boy and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father or some one of the agnatic kindred gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called *Hoṇe* which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy sitting down milks a small quantity into the *Hoṇe*. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking; and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the *Hoṇe* is previously filled almost to the brim. It is extremely curious to
[174] see that this is observed as a regular ceremony, and it indicates

795 If more than one have to receive the *Linga* on the same day each of them has to undergo this ceremony. After the ceremony is [793] over the priest returns to his village with the rice, &c., and fees. [796] Every house in which a boy has received the *Linga* has to give a grand feast that day. Even the poorest Badaga must feed five other Badagas at least.

Thus closes the Linga-wearing ceremony of the Badaga boy, after which he passes through no additional ceremony. He spends his time now in milking the buffaloes, now in the fields, and is thus always preparing himself to become in the future the responsible head of a Badaga family.

121 Before we speak of the ceremonies connected with the courtship and marriage of a Badaga youth and of those which are due to him at the time of and after his death, which we shall dwell upon at their proper place, we shall turn our attention to a Badaga female-child and trace her from her birth to her marriage. As soon as a female-584 child is born, some of her relations who are in a position to contract a marriage relationship bespeak the baby, and arrange for her to be married at the proper age to such and such a boy. In consideration of this they give Rs. 10 as a fee. This is everything to the girl and her price cannot afterwards be enhanced even though when she grows up she may be worth more—even as much as Rs. 200 which is the highest rate prevailing among them. Even when a girl is thus bespoken, all the forms connected with the courtship and marriage which I am about to describe are observed except the one of handing over the price of the girl, which in such a case has already been paid. This custom of contracting relationship is rare but it does occur in [684] ten out of a hundred cases. Violations of this kind of marriage are considered very ungentlemanly but they are not infrequent. The fine for such violations is after all very light, being merely the return of the Rs. 10 formerly paid for the girl when the infant was bespoken.

561 Let us now go back to the baby and suppose her not to be thus
852 bespoken. She has no rites or any observances to undergo till she becomes of a marriageable age. She then leaves her parents' house and goes to a building called the *Hola-Gudi*. This *Hola-*
881 *Gudi* is a public place reserved exclusively for women and grown up
(891) girls, and is a building that every Badaga village contains. She is presented with a new cloth by her parents and remains in the *Hola-Gudi* till the next full-moon day. All the families in the village bring to her one measure of wheat or *Korali* flour from each

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585 round the neck of the woman. It is not merely a cord but the very marriage badge strung to the cord which is tied; even if she has had it tied round her neck on the occasion of the marriage ceremony she must now have it tied on again on the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭédu* occasion, and this latter alone is the true marriage badge. It is on this occasion that the bridegroom receives presents from his wife's people, which generally consist of a house, a pair of he-buffaloes and a pair of she-buffaloes. The last two must be given by even the poorest Badaga father-in-law. Whether the young couple receive a house and a larger number of buffaloes than the single pair that must be given depends upon the position and wealth of the father of the bride.

(425)

This ceremony of the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭédu* is very curious though extremely simple. The relations of both sides are seated and the pair sit in their midst while of course the Kôṭa and Toraya music is going on. The eldest relation, father or brother of the husband, gets up and says:—*Kaṇṇi hâkalâ nenta hâkalâ*, meaning:—May the string be thrown round the neck; may it be thrown? And the other side reply:—*Hâkappâ hâku*—Throw, sir, throw. Then the cord is passed round and the ceremony of the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭédu* is closed with a feast.

585 586 After the celebration of this ceremony the husband and wife cannot separate of their own accord without going to the divorce-court in their village, an institution of which we shall speak later on. Thus this is the most important ceremony in the Badaga society and it is full of meaning. In a community where the relationship between the sexes is very lax there is little or no guarantee that the marriage tie will be regarded as binding. But when the wife is soon to become a mother it becomes necessary for her position as the female representative of the family to be recognised. Thus much importance attaches to the *Kaṇṇi-kaṭṭédu* ceremony, and once it is performed the woman cannot leave her husband as lightly as she might after the marriage and before it was performed. Previously she might have done so of her own accord; but now only the community represented in a court can dissolve the marriage.

121 In my next article I shall show the importance of these village councils and describe the part they play in the life of the community, and then I shall give an account of the funeral rites of these interesting people.

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538 to be a near relation among the Baḍagas. Thus closes the third
(764) day of the funeral rites of the Baḍagas.

The third day's ceremony is a curious and significant ceremony.
764 The lighting up of the fire inside the house and the handful of straw
brought from the outside thatch to kindle it are nothing but the
(783) simple ways of purifying a polluted house which the high-caste
Hindus employ on various occasions. The wife mourning outside,
while the grain is being turned up in the *Kerachi*, shows her grief
at the idea that her lord had become a spirit among the departed
spirits and that all his connection with this world has entirely
(783) ceased. The passing of the pots over the fire are means adopted
to purify the vessels and the house after the pollution caused by
the death. During the first two days of mourning the milk-
house may not be entered, but on the third day it may be once
more used. There the first rice is spread in order that it may
acquire some of the purity of the spot and it is there that the feast
of friends and relatives is held that is considered to be the most
binding tie and the greatest token of friendship and caste union.

In the case of those who cremate the dead body the ceremony
of the first day is almost the same as with those who bury,
though there are certain differences. Up to the end of the con-
fession the ceremonies are all the same. The car is taken to the
cremation ground where a big fire has been lit and kept ready. At
some little distance from the fire a spot is chosen for cremating the
body, and at the place chosen a pit is dug. The pit is then filled
up with firewood and the body to be cremated is placed over it. It
is covered up with fuel.

When the corpse is placed on the funeral car it is sometimes
placed with the cot also and sometimes without it. When it is
(768) taken to the funeral pile, it is taken also with the cot and some-
(556) times without it; when the former is done the cot also is cremated.
Only well-to-do Baḍagas cremate the cot along with the dead body;
in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases the cot is not cremated.
If it is the body of a female the brother or brothers or some one of
her blood relations tear up into three parts lengthwise a new
cloth six cubits long and tie the pieces round the body in the region
of the heart before placing it on the pile.* It is difficult to get
(121) the meaning of this custom from the Baḍagas, but we may guess

* This is termed *Lēkaṭṭavadu*, meaning tying up tight.

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the meaning of it from the analogy of Hindu custom; it is to keep the body and soul together till the ceremonies are over. Why it is not done to the dead bodies of men, it is difficult to understand.

When thus the body is placed on the pile the nearest relative—the son in case there is one—takes a handful of burning fuel from the big pile which has been kept burning and applies it to the head of the pile with the following incantation:—

Hetta hettappa
Muttê muttappa mâdida dharmânda
Ennavvê nappaga nâ huṭṭi
Ennavê (or appa) ṣetta ṣâvugê
Nâ tappadê tale koḷḷi bittanê
Sarvannurâ Dêva ariya,

meaning:—'According to the course adopted by my ancestors and the ancestors of those ancestors, I, in justice to my having been begotten by my father and mother, and without failing to do what is needful, now ignite the funeral pile of my mother (or father) at the head, while all the hundred gods bear witness to it'. This is called *Tuke-Koḷḷi*—igniting the pile at the head. These are the chief differences in the first day's ceremony in the case of cremating the body, but it should be observed that no stones are placed as in the case of burials.

There is more difference in the ceremonies of the second day between cremation and burial. In cases where cremation has taken place the nearest agnatic relation goes to the burning ground on the following morning with five measures of *korali*, and a small quantity of ghee in a cup, made of the leaves of the castor oil plant. All the villagers follow him with new pots. Water is brought and poured over the pile. The bones are collected and placed on wild ferns, and ghee is mixed with the bones. Three persons hold the bones in their extended hands, while all the persons who have assembled there stand in a row. The bones are passed round and every one touches them by way of respect and throws over them *korali* grain with the following incantation:—

Sâvu nilili
Kêḍu nilili
Sakala oḷḷidu âgali
Muttê muttappara dharmandavu
Betta bettappara dharmandavu
Baga Bandigi seṛali;

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764 (539) 'May deaths cease, may sorrows cease, may everything be for our good; by the meritoriousness of our ancestors and by the meritoriousness of the ancestors of our ancestors. May this person (that has died) mingle with them':

After the bones have thus been passed round they are taken by (539) the three who displayed them and buried in a pit built of stone in the cremation ground with the following incantation:—

Doḍḍavar kunnavar śatli hatla
Akâlânda ikâlaga śattavakar śatti hatla
Kûṭṭá kuṭumba ellâ ondâgi hogali

'May the young and the old that have died, may all persons who have died from time immemorial up to the present time—may all these mingle into one'.

There is no difference at all as to the ceremonies observed on the third day. Those Baḍagas who cremate their dead perform exactly the same ceremonies on that day as those who bury.

121 We have thus examined as far as is possible the origin of the Baḍagas, and have seen that they are most probably immigrants from Maisûr. We have noticed the chief characteristics of the race and have traced a Baḍaga from his birth to his funeral. It has not been possible to give an account of all the ceremonies and customs of this interesting people but the main ones have been described, and it will be seen that they are essentially those of an agricultural people. It has been seen how prominent a place the buffalo and 796 the *Hâgôṭu* or milk-house hold in their religious ceremonies. To 241 those already mentioned may be added the ceremony which takes place at the beginning of harvest when the first bundle of ripe ears of corn is brought home, husked, cooked with milk, placed in the 181 *Hâgôṭu* and eaten. The wants of the Baḍaga are few and his aspirations may be summed up in the following words:—*Kattadda erumê kareli bitta holu ellâ belêli*: 'May our buffaloes give us calves and may the fields yield us harvest'.

S. M. NATESA SASTRI.